Pre and Post Police Action Days

in

the erstwhile Hyderabad State

What I saw, felt and did

by

Fareed Mirza

فـــــريد مـــــرزا

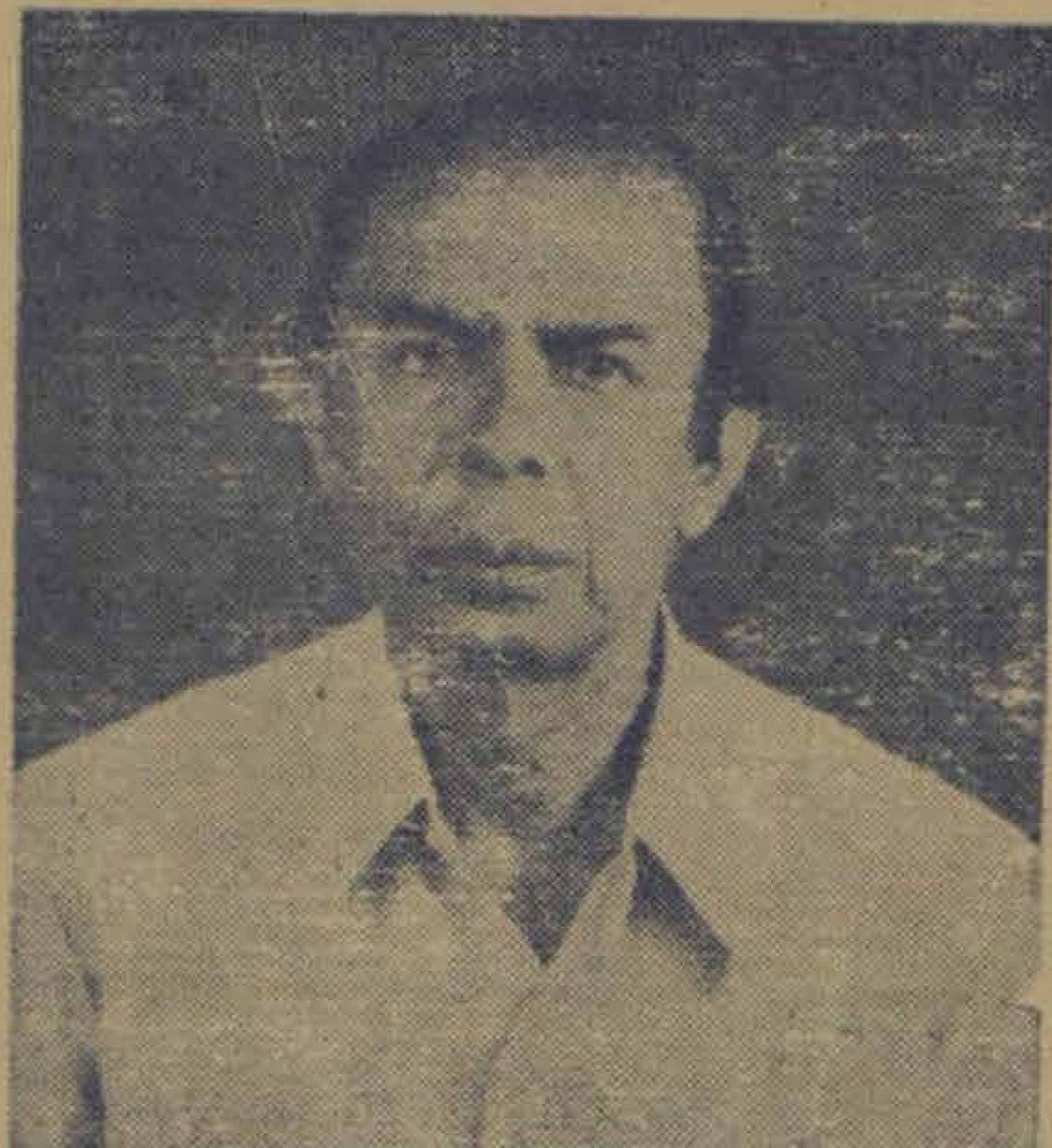
One of the seven Muslims who had

openly advised the Nizam to accede

to

the INDIAN UNION

ABOUT THE AUTHOR



FAREED MIRZA

Born on 7th July, 1918 at Hyderabad.

Graduated from the Osmania University in 1940.

Appointed as Tahsildar in 1941.

Resigned the Government service on 15th July 1948 protesting against the subversive activities of the Ithahadulmuslimeen Razakars and the then Government's one-sided policy.

Served as a member of Relief and Rehabilitation Committees formed by the Military Government, State Congress and Mulla Abdul Basith after the Police Action in September 1948.

Rejoined Government service as a Deputy Collector on 1st August, 1949.

Again resigned the Government service in April 1961 protesting against the injustices done to him and the resignation was accepted with effect from 7th May 1962.

Present means of livelihood :

1. Poultry farming
2. Proprietorship of a Printing Press
3. Agency of the Life Insurance Corporation of India.

FOREWARD

This brochure contains my experiences in pre and post Police Action days in the erstwhile State of Hyderabad. I wrote it about twenty years back with the help of the diaries and the records I had kept with me. Being in Government service at that time, I could not publish it without the permission of the Government. I did not want to approach the Government for permission with the material I had collected in this booklet.

In May 1962, I became a free person when my resignation from the Government service was accepted by the Government. But it was the beginning of my struggle to earn, live and maintain my family. This continued for years. When things became a bit easier, I thought of its publication. But I felt that with the passage of time, it had lost its value and interest.

Recently Mr. Pratap Kishore, chief correspondent of the Deccan Chronicle, while commenting on my Urdu Book "Roznamcha-e-Safar" (a tour diary of my visit to Middle Eastern Countries) suggested that I should write about my experiences of pre Police Action days. So the desire to share my experiences of that period with the people at large was revived. As I had been activily interested in the affairs of the State, in pre as well as in post Police Action days, this small book covers both these periods.

Twenty seven years have passed after that eventful period. A new generation has now come up. They may be hearing sometimes about the Police Action and may perhaps be interested to know about it. This booklet throws some light on that abnormal period we passed through.

Lastly I have to express my gratitude to Mr. Hameed Pasha a retired professor of the Osmania University who kindly went through the galley proofs of this booklet.

6-1-68/4, Saifabad,
Hyderabad-500 004.

Fareed Mirza

1-3-1976.

I was born in a lower middle class Muslim family. I was just like any other student of my environment even when I entered college. I remember that I did not like the Satyagraha movement launched by the Arya Samaj and the State Congress in 1938 in the Nizam's State. But very soon a change came over me. When I was in the 3rd year in the Arts College, somebody advised me to read Pandit Jawaharlal's books to improve my English. First I read his "Glimpses of World History", then his Autobiography. Whether I improved my English from these books or not, I cannot say but they definitely changed my out-look. Though I had been reading newspapers for many years, now I began to see things from a different angle. I felt that my vision had been broadened. I also read Mahatama Gandhi's Autobiography which taught me the lesson of truth and non-violence. When I left college and joined Government service, I had developed a great respect for these Congress leaders. It was not very long before August 1942 came. The eyes of the whole world were focussed on Bombay where the A. I. C. C. was meeting to pass the "Quit India" resolution. How I wished to see the resolution passed in my presence, I cannot describe. But there were other considerations. My old parents and my two sisters were mainly relying on my income. So I did not have the courage to give up my job and join the struggle. However I decided that I should see these leaders in Bombay and hear them if they spoke in public. Not to give room to the suspicion that I had gone to Bombay to attend the A. I. C. C., I got my leave sanctioned from 10th August and I started from Basmath, a Taluqa headquarters in Parbhani District, in the afternoon of 9th August. I reached Bombay on the morning of the 10th but on the way alone I was informed that all the leaders had been arrested. I remained in Bombay for three days and saw many processions and lathi charges. But in all these, I was a silent spectator. I returned to my headquarters very much impressed by the struggle for freedom.

I did not like the policy which the Muslim League adopted at that time and afterwards. I was grieved very much at the statement of the late Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah, which he issued in reply to Mahatma Gandhi's letter which the latter had addressed to the League president from the Agha Khan palace, and the delivery of which Lord Linlithgow had withheld.

When Lord Wavell released Gandhiji due to his illness and he went to Panchgani to take rest, I decided to go there and see the great man. I was afraid that he might pass away due to his old age and illness. I went along with my wife to Panchgani in the middle of July 1944. I had thought that I would be able to see him only in the prayer meetin g. However we went in the morning to his place. First we went to a house where I think Dr. Mehta was staying. He directed us to the house in which Mahatama Gandhi stayed. We had not gone many steps towards that house when we saw Gandhiji in the verandah. He was having his walk in the verandah, as it was drizzling outside. I was thrilled at my first glimpse of him. Within a few moments, we were in the verandah. Gandhiji kindly asked us from where we had come. I replied "from Hyderabad'. "Which Hyderabad ?" he asked. I said that we had come

there from Hyderabad Deccan. During this time some students from Poona had also arrived. Asking them the same question he told all of us to go to a room and have a talk with a lady who was, I think, no other than Mira Behn. My wife coming from an orthodox Muslim family was a bit hesitant to enter the room and sit along with other men. So she was just standing near the door. Gandhiji was continuing his walk. When he came to that end and saw my wife still standing in the Verandah, he put his hand on the head of my wife and with fatherly kindness said to her to go into the room and sit there. She complied with his wish. The lady gave us the history of the struggle of freedom. Then she asked the purpose of our visit. I replied that we had come there only to see Gandhiji. She said that he was still weak, so she hoped that we would not insist on having an interview with him. I explained to her that we had not gone there with the intention to have an interview with him. We had only wished to see him with our eyes and in that we had been successful. At that she said that if we wished anything to be conveyed to Mahatama Gandhi, she would do that. I suggested that he might be requested to write a letter to Mr Md. Ali Jinnah renewing the offer of his meeting with him given in his previous letter from the Agha Khan palace. There was already a move to this effect by Allamma Mashriqi. She replied that many such attempts by the Congress had met with failure, so this proposal would also not bear any fruit. I said she might be true in her fears, but it would open the eyes of the Muslims to the sincerity of Gandhiji and the Congress. She promised that she would convey my wish to him. I gave the lady Rs 2/- for the Harijan Fund and then we returned. After two or three days Gandhiji wrote his famous letter to Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah on 17th or 18th July, which brought them together for about a month in Bombay. Though nothing came out of those meetings how important they were considered at that time should be fresh in the minds of many people. In 1945 the A. I. C. C. met in Bombay for the first time after 1942. At that time I was in Hyderabad on leave due to my father's death. Taking advantage of the leave I went to Bombay on that occasion. Along with me I had taken a Hindu friend (a Govt. Medical Officer). My friend went for sight seeing and I to attend the A. I. C. C. After the session when it appeared in the newspaper that Mr, Nehru would address a public meeting at Shivaji park, I reached there some one and a half hours before the scheduled time just to see and hear him from close quarters. I had gone to the meeting wearing a "sherwani" and a Rampuri cap. After the meeting when the public was dispersing some young Hindus pointing towards me said among themselves that a Muslim League president was going.

When it all became evident that the country was going to be divided into India and Pakistan I felt that there was no other go for Hyderabad but to link its fate with the Indian Union. When the cry of Independence was raised by the Government of Hyderabad and the Ithahadulmuslimeen, I thought it was not going to last long and Hyderabad would have to accede to India. But Hyderabad resisted pressure and Ithahadulmuslimeen got strength and ultimately the reins of the government. As attacks by the State Congress volunteers on the border areas of Hyderabad increased, the Ithahadulmuslimeen Razakars began to play mischief inside

the State and loot and arson of the houses of the innocent Hindus began. It seemed to me that the government of India also viewed these developments with grave concern and was ready to relax the terms of accession for Hyderabad. I was very happy when it was announced on 16th June 1948 by A.I.R. that the Hyderabad delegation had accepted the terms and had taken the draft to Hyderabad for the Nizam's signature. Some Hindu friends were with me in Khandar when we listned to this news. We all said that we would arrange a party if that agreement came into existence, because all feared that the alternative to this would be blood-shed. After a day or two it became clear that the Government had refused to ratify the agreement though its delegation had accepted the terms in Delhi. The situation worsened. I saw that almost all the Muslim leaders and the whole Urdu press except one or two were upholding the demand of Independence blindly. The atrocities committed by Razakars were ignored. On the other hand the Razakars were described as defenders of Independence. It was also said that the Razakars were safe-guarding the lives and properties of Hindus. Being in a district I was seeing and also hearing of the acts of the Razakars. At many places they had looted the property and burnt the houses of Hindus. At some places they had killed them. General harassment of Hindus was spreading. Whenever the Hindus went from one place to another they werc searched by Razakars. Some times their valuables were taken. Panic-stricken but mostly well-to-do Hindus were rushing across the border. Razakaras had taken the law into their own hands and were searching the luggage of every Hindu in trains. At this time some Hindus travelled in Muslim garb. It is to be noted that many Muslims helped their Hindu friends in their plight. They kept the valuable luggage of their Hindu friends with them and went upto Rotegaon, the last Rly. station in the Nizam's territory towards Manmad and got down from the train as soon as it moved.

I think it was early in June or even a little earlier, when the Revenue officers of the Dist and also Mr.Aklaq Hussain, Dist. Ithahadul-muslimeen President met in the Talukedar's room. Some amount had been allotted as a grant or loan for those who had suffered in a hailstorm or some thing else which I do not remembor correctly. When the meeting was to close, the Taluqedar very tactfully sent away his Hindu assistant on some other work and then asked us, I think more to please Aklaq Hussain than from his heart, that the amount meant for sufferers should be granted to or recommended for Muslims. All kept quiet. As the Govt. order had not made any distinction between communities I asked how it could be carried out. When it would be notified in the villages that applications were invited for such relief, then Hindus and Muslims would both apply. How could I exclude all Hindus from such grant? If anybody asked about it what reply could I give? At this the Taluqedar said that only the loyal among the ryots should be included for such relief. Even then I said that Hindus could not be taken as disloyal and this would go against the stand of our Government which had been repeatedly saying that 99% of the Hindus were loyal to the Government and only 1% were agitating, being instigated by outsiders. The Taluqedar had no answer to this. But Aklaq Hussain interfered and said that traitors did not deserve any thing and if a chance

arose he would not hesitate to shoot a traitor whoever he might be, with his own hand. There was a silence; I felt that he threatened by referring to me as a traitor. With that the meeting came to an end.

Having heard of many cases of loot and arson in Dist. Nanded, I had written to the Taluqedar to keep some armed police at Loha so that the goondas might not dare to attack this commercial centre. On 20th June, late in the evening, somebody told me that Pathans had entered Loha, firing their guns. The inhabitants rushed to their fields in panic. What happened afterwards nobody knew. Only one Bus was running between Khandar and Loha twice a week. So I decided to visitit Loha next day in the morning. I said to Mr. Gulam Abbas, Taluqa Corporation Officer, to accompany me and he agreed. A truck had brought some commodities from Nanded to Khandar. In the same truck we went to Loha. On our way alone we met many men coming from Loha or surrounding villages. They informed us that the Pathans had played havoc. There I came to know that three persons had been killed and many wounded. When we reached Loha it had a deserted appearance. Somehow two or three persons assembled. One of them was the Police Patel. He gave me definite information about the killed and the wounded. He said that a wounded person was still lying in a house which was partially burning. I thought I should first go to the wounded and rescue him. This was the house of Mahadev Nalge, Sahukar of Loha and Khandar. One of his brothers had been killed and his servant was lying wounded because of the firing of Pathans. Mahadav Nalge did not run away at the firing but decided to defend himself. He had enough ammunition with him. But his guns were muzzle loaders, and Pathans had 303 guns. However he defended himself for a long time. But when his brother was killed and one of the servants wounded, he made his escape through a rear door along with his family. I took the wounded in my lap and helped by Mr.Gulam Abbas brought him down from the second storey and then sent him to the Dak Bungalow. From there I went to the old village of Loha. I had been informed that there two persons were lying dead. When I approached the village we heard two shots, one after the other. It seemed some persons had come back to their houses after the night's tragedy and taking us to be looters fired most probably in the air. I along with my party took shelter behind the wall of 'Garhi' and sent word to the residents informing who I was. Many people came and I first went to the house where a Marktedar and a Patwari were lyiny dead. Nobody was there except the dead bodies. It seemed every thing had been searched by the Pathans. All the household articles were lying in a disorderly condition. The pathans had taken only cash and valuables. I saw the dead bodies. Naturally I was very much moved by these tragic happenings. When I was leaving the house I was told that the son and the brother of the killed were coming. Presently they came. The son of the Maqthedar whom I had known for some time embraced me and began crying. I was overcome with emotion and I also wept. The eyes of Gulam Abbas were also wet. From there I went to those houses which had also been looted by the Pathans. There were two or three more persons who had been wounded in the random firing. I sent all of them (some of whom were unable to walk) to the Dak Bangalow.

I also came back to the Dak Bungalow and waited for some conveyance in which I could go to Nanded along with the wounded and report to the Taluqdar personally about the happenings of the previous day. There was no bus that day to Nanded. The truck by which I had come to Loha had returned to Khandar.

I ate my breakfast. Presently we heard the slogan of "Allahu-Akbar". At that time a Brahmin Revenue Inspector was sitting in front of me. These shouts affected him suddenly. His voice chocked and his face became pale. His house was at Loha. He had seen the result of the raid of the Pathans. Seeing his condition I told him not to get nervous. Nothing would now happen. Later he asked me to leave a peon with him and I complied with his wish.

The police and the Razakars from Khandar arrived. Nobody from the police officers or from the Razakar office-bearers came to me. They knew my ideas and my sympathies. The truck by which I had come, now brought the Razakars and the police. It made another trip to Khandar and brought some more Razakars. The truck was now under the control of the police. I sat in the Dak Bangalow getting as much information as possible about the raid of the Pathans. I came to know that the police was taking the dead bodies to Nanded for post-martem. I sent word that I would also go by the same truck. In the afternoon I was informed by my men that a truck other than the one brought from Khandar was about to start for Nanded. I went near the truck. No police officer paid any attention to me. The Sub Inspector of Khandar Police Station was going with the killed and the wounded. Only two persons besides the driver could sit in the front seat. The Sub-Inspector sat first in the truck without requesting me to get in. They were all getting ready to start. I was standing there swallowing all the insults calmly. I had made up my mind to get into the truck on its moving forward and if necessary stand in the rear portion along with the dead and the wounded, I was very anxious to inform the Taluqedar (Collector) of this tragic happening as early as possible. But presently the Sub-Inspector of Sonkhed Police Station who was also standing near the truck asked me whether I also liked to go to Nanded. I said 'yes'. At that he asked the Sub-Inspector of Khandar to give me some room. Accordingly I got a seat and then the truck moved on. For a while we did not talk with each other. However the Sub-Inspector broke the silence and as an advice to me said that one might be right in one's ideas but one should act tactfully according to the circumstances. In reply I explained to him at length the situation of the day. I said to him that we (Muslims) were following a wrong policy. Under no circumstance could we take the law into our own hands and harass the innocent people.

As soon as I reached Nanded I went to the 1st Taluqedar. The Superintendent of Police was with him. After he went I was called in. I said to him that a tragedy had occurred in Loha. Without hearing anything further he told me that he had made arrangements to send the army there. I was wondering how he came to know about the facts, as I was the first man to reach him from Loha. Later, I came to know that he

had been told quite a different tale by the police. He had been informed that some Hindus had been making bombs and that they would throw them on Muslims. However I tried to make him hear what actually had taken place at Loha. But he diverted the talk and asked me what commotion I had created at Khandar. I asked him what I had done. He told me that I was organising Hindu Razakars against Muslim Razakars. He said that when the State flag was being hoisted I turned my face away from it and that in three or four speeches I had spoken objectionable things. He added that he had received a letter from higher authories and feared that my services might be terminated. I had already been under great stress the whole day. I had been very much affected by what I had seen at Loha. I had also felt sorry at the attitude the police had shown that day. I had expected that the Talukedar would hear the tragic incident with a deep sense of sorrow and would immediately take steps not only to arrest the culprits but also to create confidence in the panic-stricken people of Loha. But here it was quite a diffierent thing. He began accusing me of things which I had not done.He also threatened that my services would be dispensed with. I was provoked I retorted saying that I did not care whether I retained or lost my job. This angered the Taluqenar and he told me that I should treat myself as suspended. I said it was all right. Further angered by the answer he asked me to go to Khandar and proceed home with bag and baggage. I took my hat and stood up to leave the place. At this the Taluqedar said "Are you a Nawab or a Jagirdar that you do not care for your Govt. service?" I replied "Sir, I am neither a Nawab nor a Jagirdar nor a well-to-do person; neveretheless I would not like to be threatened in this way. If anything is to be said to me it should be done in a proper way. He called for the files and read something from them to me. The local Ittahadul-Muslimeen had complained that I had not attended its anniversary function and that I was trying to organise Hindu Razakars. I replied that Razakars were a private organisation so I was not bound to attend their function. The allegation of my organising Hindu Razakars was ridiculous. I had already explained it before and would now deny it with all force. The police had reported that at a meeting held under the presidentship of 2nd Taluqedar I said that whatever be my faith I had Muslim relatives and friends but I had to support Messrs. Keshev Rao and Ambadas Rao in their demand that until Hindus were enrolled among the Razakars they would not have any confidence in the organisation, I replied that though there was nothing objectionable in the speech alleged to have been made by me, as a matter of fact I did not say that. Even if I had said anything objectionable, the 2nd Taluqedar would have corrected it then and there and if the matter had been serious he would have reported it to the first Taluqedar. He cooled down and advised me" Baba, whatever I say, I do for your good. I have not got the habit to report against anybody to higher authorities." Seizing the opportunity I related what had happened at Loha. He immediately despatched a letter to the Dist. Superintendent of Police. I also said something against the activities of the Razakars. At this he related the tragic incident at Koli or Kosi village in which Muslims had been killed. I said, "Sir, if we could catch hold of the murderers we could inflict severe punishment on them." But it was not at all permissible that we take revenge

of those murdered Muslims on the innocent Hindus. However the Taluqedar asked me to change my attitude. I replied 'If I have really committed anything wrong it may be pointed out to me. I never like to do injustice, I feel that it will be good for Muslims and also for the state if we do justice to all.'

I am giving here the true facts aboutthe allegations referred to by him.

The Ithahadulmuslimeen was celebrating some anniversary. The local President had invited me to attend the function. As it was a function arranged by a political party I did not feel like attending it. Further it was a holiday and we had already made arrangements to go a swimming. It was a mere coincidence that when the Munsiff-Magistrate, (Mr. Hind Kishore) some local Hindu pleaders and I were going to the well, the procession of the Razakars was approaching the venue of the meeting. Muslims saw us going to the well. Some of them said among themselves that we were traitors. It was not at all correct to say that when the flag was being hoisted I turned away my face.

Once the 2nd Taluqedar had come to Khandar to establish good relations between Hindus and Muslims. A meeting had been convened. Respectable Muslims and Hindus, mostly pleaders, had been invited. The meeting started on the Verandah of the Munsif Magistate's office. The 2nd Taluqedar was presiding. It was all clear that Hindus were not at all satisfied. But they were afraid of complaining against any Muslim openly. The local Ithahadul Muslimeen president had asked the Hindus whether they had any complaint aginst Razakars. Seeing that no Hindu was coming forward I got up and spoke. Among the Muslims I was notorious as being pro-Hindu. So to remove that impression I said that whatever my political and religious ideas might be, I had been born in a Muslim family and had many Muslim relatives and friends. So I could not like that any wrong should be done to them by anybody. But this should be clear in our minds that the present situation could not last long. In the State Hindus were 85%. Without their co-operation no administration could run. They would have to be given due share in the services. We as a minority should have good relations with them in our own interests. Then I related two incidents which had a very bad effect on the minds of local Hindus. In one incident the Razakars had taken some grains from a Hindu merchant as his contribution towards the Razakars fund. In another incident some young Razakars had gone to a cloth shop and selected and taken some cloth for their uniforms and had asked the Hindu owner to prepare the bill and that they would pay the price afterwards. I asked the local Ithahadi leader as to why he allowed these things to be done by his Razakars. The president tried to give some excuses for all this.

The next day (22nd June) I accompanied the Superintendent of Police to Loha. There I was very much grieved to know that after my departure from Loha on the previous day, some shops owned by Hindus

had been looted and burnt. Hardly had my truck with the dead and the wounded left Loha than the Razakars started this mischief. This was all done just under the nose of the Police. The truck which had been kept at Loha made many trips to Khandar taking the property looted by Razakars. Mr. Gulam Abbas was there to see all this. He even told the Ithahadul-Muslimeen President of Khandar to stop this loot and arson by the Razakars. But he expressed his inability to do any such thing. I felt very much grieved about the second day's incident. It was worse than the first day's happening.This time there were at least two police officers and a good number of armed constables. They could have easily stopped this. If necessary they could have shot down some miscreants. They could at least have taken the truck under their control and stopped the transfer of the looted property from Loha to Khandar. Nothing of the kind was done. They remained silent spectators to all these happenings.

On 24th and 25th June 1948/ there was a Dist. conference at Nanded. As a Tahsildar of the district I also went to attend it. I met the Taluqedar in the varandah of his office and greeted him. Aklaq Hussain, the Dist. Ithahadul Muslimeen President and some others were also present. After acknowledging my greetings the Taluqedar told me that the government had placed me under suspension due to my political ideas. He added that he felt very sorry for me. I replied that it was all right. Then he began repeatedly expressing regret for what the Government had done to me. Having kept quiet twice or thrice I told him not to feel so sorry for me. I was getting ready even for the worse. At this, he said that a questionnaire would be given to me and I should submit my reply to it. Having said this, he left for Loha. I asked the Revenue Assistant and some other persons whether there was any questionnaire kept ready for me. They expressed their ignorance about it.

Though the idea of resigning the post had entered my mind, I had not yet decided about it. So the news that I had been placed under suspension worried me. The conferenc started and came to a close. I was given neither the orders of suspension nor the questionnaire. I was kept in suspense for two days. However the Taluqedar sent word that I should see him. I went to him at the appointed time. Seeing me, he asked the purpose of my visit. I replied 'You wanted to see me, so I have come'. At this he said that the Ithahadul Muslimeen had complained against me. He would give me the questionnaire and I should give reply to it. I said I would do it. Then our talk turned to the activities of the Razakars. He had visited Loha and seen their mischief with his own eyes. I began giving him details of their activities. For some time he heard me quietly and then said 'It is all right. But can we say anything against the Ithahadul Muslimeen?. You do not know how much they are against you. Whatever you say is correct but one should act now-a-days with all care and caution. I shall write to the authorities that all these complaints are wrong. But I will propse your transfer from Khandar to Biloli" I said he could do whatever he liked But I asked him where the orders of my suspension were about which he had mentioned in the presence of many persons. To my

astonishment he told me that there were no suspension orders. He had said it just to make Aklaq Hussain hear that. If he did not do such things to please the Dist. president of Ithahadul Muslimeen he would get me and him killed.

After returning from Nanded, I gave a complete report to the Taluqedar in writing of what had happened at Loha. I also began to think seriously of quitting the Govt. service. My wife who had not believed the previous reports of loot and arson by Razakars was now convinced of the veracity of these reports. Besides me there were many reporters of these happenings to her. I remember having called Bala Saheb, the Patwari of Loha to relate the tragic incident to her. I wanted that she should stand by me if I quitted the Govt. service and invited trouble upon myself. Though impressed by these facts, she remained opposed to my idea of resigning my post.

My report about loot, arson and murder at Loha reached the Taluqedar. It seemed he discussed it with the local Ithahadul Musleemeen leaders, because after some days when Dildar Ali Gazi, a prominent Ithahadi leader came to Khandar and addressed the Razakars he said that he knew there were some persons who gave wrong reports to their high officials trying to slander the Razakars. He said 'They are traitor and we know them well'. As the speech was being delivered just in front of my house under the shed of the vegetable market I also went outside to listen to it. My wife sat in one of the windows of the drawing room and listened. The speech was very poisonous and references to me were apparent. I was fearing whether anyone from the audience would stand and say 'Here the traitor is standing' or the speaker might turn and say 'In this house lives the traitor'.But nothing of this kind happened. In the words of the speaker', 'What do we care for these small fry. Many big guns have been brought to their senses.'

When tne speech ended, I went inside the house. I saw my wife. She was pale. I asked her what I should do. She replied that I should resign. But this was her opinion when fear had overwhelmed her. After wards she modified her opinion and wanted me to take long leave. But I had decided to quit.

In the evening of that day (or the next day), I received a letter from a young Arab, an acquaintance of mine advising me not to go to office and to do the office work at my house alone. He feared that somebody might attack me as the situation had become very tense after the Gazi's speech. My friend Mr. Gulam Abbas then Taluka Corporation Officer and my Daffedar Ganga Ram also advised me not to go to office. In those days the Tahsil office was in the fort. To reach it I had to cross the whole town. I said to my sympathisers, that I had not harmed anybody. If anyone wanted to harm me without any reason he could do that. Though with some fear in my mind, I went to my office as usual during those last days of my stay in Khandar.

I think it was in the last week of June that I received an issue of 'Khadim' an 'Urdu' Weekly. Seeing the trend of Urdu papers I just had a glance and did not read it. In the evening the Munsiff Magistrate Mr. Hind Kishor referred to this paper and the views expressed in it. When I came back home I read the editorial 'Is this Independence or eternal Slavery' Mr. Mulla Abdul Basith the editor of this paper had strongly criticised the poliy of the Laik Ali Government and advised it to restore good relations with the Indian Union. He had sent a copy of this issue to all the Tahsildars and Munsiffs of the State, of course free of cost. I was very much impressed by this and wrote a letter on 1-7-1948, congratulating him on his courage and soundness of his views. Lastly I asked him whether I could do anything for the furtherance of the cause he had taken up. On 6th July he wrote me back asking me among other things to try to restore good relations between Hindus and Muslims.

During this period one more thing happened. Some time after Loha was looted some Hindu pleaders came to me. I casually told them to shift their valuables and keep them in some bank at the Dist. head-quarters. Accordingly Sri. Gangadhar Rao, a prominant local pleader shiftsed his cash and valuables to Nanded. The day he was taking these things with all secrecy lest the Razakars should know about it, Gulam Abbas and I were at the bus stand. By the same bus surplus cash of the sub-treasury of the Tahsil was being transferred to the Dist. treasury at Nanded. An Arab armed guard and a clerk were accompanying the Govt. cash box. Gangadhar Rao came and told me that he was also taking the valuables and I could ask the clerk and the head of the Arab guard to help him if anything happened on the way. Accordingly I asked both of them to accompany him to the State Bank of Hyderabad at Nanded where I think he wanted to keep the cash etc. Nothing happened to him on the way and he could safely deposit the cash and the valuables in the Bank at Nanded. However some complaint was made about me and Mr. Gulam Abbas in the matter. The Taluqedar called for explanation from me.I gave him full debails. At that time sending of gold and silver or articles made of them across the State border was an offence. But these valuables had been deposited in Bank well within the State and at the district headquarters. So I had not committed any offence in rendering that little help which I did to Gangadhar Rao. I thought that every Govt. officer should do that much in the circumstances. Accordingly I gave the reply. At the end I wrote "I take pride in what I have done" or words to that effect. I also remember to have written that this complaint was made to him because the Razakars were deprived of a fair booty. But later I came to know that this complaint had been made not by the Razakars but by the local police. But this went to a very high level. When my resignation reached the government, the then Revenue Member while accepting it endorsed that there was some complaint against me about smuggling etc. It should be enquired into so that I might be debarred from Govt. service. When this was referred to the Taluqedar (Nawab Shahabuddin Khan) he sent my explanation in reply. Not satisfied with it the Revenue Member again wrote to the Taluqedar to enquire into

the matter and give his views. In the mean time Mirza Farooq Baig had taken over as Taluqedar of Nanded. He reported that as facts showed, I helped only in transport of valuables from Khandar to Nanded. So I did not commit any offence in doing so. Further when I had already resigned and left Government service this case might not be pursued. So I could not be debarred from future Govt. employment. But Gulam Abbas was suspended on this ground alone and had to suffer for some time for a thing which should have been, in all fairness, appreciated.

I drafted my resignation and got it fair copied by Digamber Rao one of the clerks of my tahasil much before 15th July when I actually submitted it. I thought if I submitted my resignation and went away hurriedly people would think that I feared the situation at Khandar and ran away after resigning. So I waited for my transfer orders and stayed even for about a week after I received them.

Many farewell parties were given to me after I received the transfer orders. In the party which was held in the Magistrate's office and was presided over by the Magistrate, one of the speakers, a Piarokar of police, praising my arrangements of supply of foodgrains, sugar and kerosene oil to the people of Khandar said that many Hindus were leaving Khandar and going outside the State. would they find there another Fareed Mirza to give them foodgrains etc. ? Why should the Hindus leave when they were getting such facilities here. ?

I replied to this in my speech. I said it was quite easy to find out the reason for their leaving their homes. The security of life and property was the first and foremost thing for everybody. Loot and murder had a bad effect on the minds of the people but worse was the passivity and inaction of the Government against the culprits. I referred to Loha. It was looted and many persons were killed. Did the responsible officers do all in their power to arrest the offenders? Why did not the police shoot those who were looting and burning the shops? I asked whether such officers were the real servants of the State or should they be named traitors? I was speaking in this vein when a prominent Muslim pleader stood up and said that time was short and they had to go to offer Taravi Namaz. This was the month of Ramzan. I asked to be excused and after thanking those who had arranged the party and spoken well of me I finished my speech.

The Magistrate also spoke vehemently and said that the real traitors were those who were not doing their job properly and were allowing the culprits to move freely.

At the last party which was arranged, I think on the day of my departure, I spoke with emotion. Addressing the Hindus and Muslims I said "You may have different political ideas and objectives but why do you kill innocent people and burn their houses." At the border areas both Hindus and Muslims had been guilty of these acts.

On 15th July 1948 I started from Khandar with my family and with bag and baggage. I reached Nanded in the afternoon. The first thing I did was to go to the post office and to send by register d post the copies of my resignation to the Subedar (Revenue Commissioner) Aurangabad, Revenue Member and the Chief Minister. Mr. Gulam Abbas was accompanying me to Nanded. For the first time I showed my letter of resignation to him. After reading it he said that I was doing a great thing but its consequenses might be terrible.

I was to catch the next train for Hyderabad at 11 or 12 in the night.

Due to the disturbed conditions in the State the Taluqdar had shifted himself from his permanent quarters to the office building. I knew he was fasting. I had thought that I should not give him the resignation letter which was originally addressed to him personally,because I feared that after seeing my resignation he would lose his temper and create a scene. He might even get me arrested and all my luggage searched. With all this, my wife with three young children on the way home would be put to much inconvenience. Taluqedars held great powers in those days. It also did not look nice that I should go away without seeing him. So I was going to give only some hint to him saying that I would not remain in service and how bad the situation was. With this plan in my mind I went to him at about 5 p.m. I was called in. Soon after a bearded Muslim came in. By his talk I came to know that he was dealing in firewood business. He complained to the Taluqedar that most of the wood accumulated at a Railway station had been taken away. He did not clearly mention who took away the wood. I thought he might be complaining against the Congress workers because they were raiding border villages of the state. So I asked him if they were Congress people. He denied and said 'They are from us only'. Thus he indicated that they were Muslim Razakars. The Taluqedar felt it and called his peshi clerk. a Muslim, and began accusing the Razakars. After a while both the clerk and the fuel contractor went away leaving me with the Taluqedar alone. Taking advantage of his mood, I also gave him some instances of the Razakars' violent activities. Then I said that I had decided not to remain in service. He replied that I should seriously think before deciding anything. At that I took out my letter of resignation and gave it to him saying that its copies had already been sent by registered post. He read the whole thing and said what a childish thing I was doing and asked whether I had really sent the copies by Registered Post to higher authorities. On my replyto him in the affirmative. he began to feel it. He advised that I should not act in haste. He would refuse to accept the resignation and I should join service. Biloli was a peaceful place and nothing would trouble me. I said that I had decided to quit Government service. Things were very bad. Razakars were doing mischief and the police were some times supporting them and some times were mere on lookers. Then the Taluqedar said that my resignation was wholly directed against the Razakars and that I had not written much against the police (it showed that he also bore some grudge). I pointed out the

sentences in my resignation which had accused the police of being indifferent or accomplices of the Razakars in their illegal activities. The letter of resignation read :

To

The first Taluqdar, Nanded District

Sir,

The subversive activities of the Ithahadul Muslimeen Razakars are on the increase day by day. Acts of loot and arson are nothing for them. Government and its officers have been so completely dominated by the Ithahadul-muslimeen that they do not take any action against the Razakars. Very rarely, more for appearance' sake do they take some nominal action. But very often the atrocities of the Razakars are connived at. Often in the presence of those officers of Government themselves whose duty is to maintain peace and order in the land and punish the evil-doors, the Razakars commit acts of loot and arson and burn the houses of innocent people and the Government officers content themselves by looking on these acts with indifference and even sometimes with amusement. This state of affairs cannot be looked upon with equanimity by any Government but is such as to give rise to serious anxiety. The most astounding feature of the whole thing is that these atrocities are being committed by those very persons, who pose themselves to be the sympathisers of Government and boast of their being prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of Government as they declare publicly.

When I look upon such acts as a human being and hear about them, it affects my feelings very deeply. As a muslim I am entirely overcome by a sense of utter shame that such inhuman acts should be committed by members of my community, and when I think that I am also a member of the Government whose duty is to safe-guard the lives and property of its poor subjects which it is not doing,I feel a great pain. I have therefore decided to resign my post as an act of protest and I request you kindly to accept this resignation of mine and arrange for filling up the post.

Copy submitted to the Subedar Saheb Aurangabad Suba for information.

Copy submitted to the Honourable the Revenue Member for information.

Copy submitted to His Excellency the Prime Minister, HEH the Nizam's Government. It is submitted that the condition in the districts is growing from bad to worse. On

one side gundas are persisting in their acts of murder and plunder in the border taluqs and on the other side due to the subversive activities of the Razakars, the peace-loving subjects of the State who have no interest in accession or non-accession but are concerned only with leading their lives in peace are getting discontented against Government and a feeling of hatred is created in them against the Muslim community itself.

Members of the Deperssed Classes also are taking possession of hundreds of acres of land by force. When the rightful ryots complain against them to the police no action is taken against the offenders. In this way hundreds nay thousands of rightful owners of land have been dispossessed of their lands. It is a fact that Depressed Classes were and are in a very bad condition. They should get and necessarily get lands. But it is not right to allow them to dispossess rightlul occupants of lands and take unlawful possession over them. The right course for the Government would be to legislate in the matter and obtain records from Jagirdars and big landholders to see how much land they can cultivate personally and the remaining land should be acquired on payment of some compensation. The present system is not the correct system of helping the Depressed Classes, whereby long standing occupants of lands are deprived of them. These irregularities are being connived at by the Government with the hope that the Depressed classes will support the government or the Ithahadul Muslimeen in the proposed plebiscite. I think such a wrong course cannot bring us any lasting success. I also believe that for the restoration of peaceful conditions in the Sate a permanent agreement should be reached with the Indian Union and this would be beneficial to Hyderabad and also to Muslims.

15-10-1356 F Corresponding to 15th July, 1948

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Sd/

Fareed Mirza
Tahsildar

The Taluqdar tried to persuade me to remain in service. He said that it was his request to me. I should take him as my elder brother and accept his sincere advice. He would refuse to accept my resignation and would write to me to that effect. I should go and join duty at Biloli. If I decided later that I should quit the service I could again submit the resignation. I felt satisfied and also a bit pleased over the reaction of the Taluqdar to my resignation. So I said to him that I could not say anything definite, but would however think over it again whether or not I should remain in Service.

I returned to the Railway Station and related the whole talk to my wife. Soon after I received a letter from the Taluqdar. It read as follows:

> In reply to your resignation (...) dated the 15th. Shehrewar 1357F I have to state that steps to improve the matters mentioned by you in pursuance of your duties, have already been taken. But you should never think of resigning under any circumustance. Please join duty at once. You can well serve the country and the Master. In the present circumstances, I hope that you will yourself not like this method by the well wishers of the State.
>
> Copy to the Subedar (Revenue Commissioner) Aurangabad for information.
>
> Sd/

Dated : 15-10-1357 First Taluqdar Nanded

As with the earlier talk, I felt satisfied also with the reply of the Taluqdar. Being asked what I should do next, my wife remained non-committal. But her desire that I should join service was apparent. When Mr. Gulam Abbas came to know about all this he persuaded me very much that I should continue in Government service. His was a very sincere advice. I changed my mind and decided to join duty at Biloli.

The road from Nanded to Biloli had been cut and washed away at many places. So I along with my family and Mr Gulam Abbas went to Nizamabad and stayed in the house of Mr. Sharfuddin, a brother-in-law of Mr. Gulan Abbas' wife. The landlord had gone to Hyderabad with his family. So we were comfortably lodged. We wanted to get a lorry and go to Biloli. But due to blockade of the state there was acute shortage of petrol and oil etc. Even though we stayed for two days we could not get any conveyance to Biloli. At his great insistance we were enjoying the hospitality of Mr. Gulam Abbas and his wife's brother-in-law So I did not like to lengthen our stay in Nizamabad. I had ten days at my disposal as joining time. So I brought my family to Hyderabad.

The next day I saw Mr. Mulla Abdul Basith with whom I had already corresponded on his editorial "Is this Independence or eternal slavery?" We both talked together about the situation in the State. When I informed him of the violent communal activities of the Razakars, he felt it very much. He was impressed when I told him about my resignation. One day he invited some of his friends to hear me relate the situation that prevailed in districts. Except two persons nobody else came. We alone talked and decided that we should do some thing about this and not keep quiet. I told Mulla Saheb that I would come back to Hyderabad on the 1st or 2nd. August after joining duty at Biloli either by resigning again or taking long leave and help him, in his activities. With these words I left Mulla Saheb and joined duty at Biloli leaving my family at Hyderabad.

Biloli was a small Taluk and there was not much official work. So I found time to read and write. I had not written my diary for more than a month. So I wrote it on 26th July covering the facts from 20th June to 25th July. Though the house was a small one it had enough accommdation and two good courtyards. There was a small hill in front of the house giving a good view. The peons were there running at my beck and call. The Government service which by my own action I wanted to quit seemed to me still intact in my hands. Further I felt I had expressed myself fully and brought the real situation to the notice of the highest executive authority in the state. So the desire to live with my wife and children calmly and quietly began to prevail upon me. Then there was another set of thoughts.

Almost the whole Muslim community had been led astray by the Ithahadul Muslimeen. They read or took news only from the Urdu press which mostly gave a one-sided and grossly exaggerated picture. Communal passions which were already running high were being further flared up. It was apparent that the Muslim community and the State Government were heading towards disaster. Much bloodshed seemed to lie in store. So I felt it was the duty of those Muslims who were conscious of the situation to raise their voice however feeble and whatever might be the risk. The idea to take leave and do the work along with Mulla Saheb became less and less appealing. I thought it was not good to remain in Govt. service and work against it. So I again made up my mind to give up the Govt. job. I decided to insist on the Taluqdar to accept my resignation and after taking my salary on 1st August, to go to Hyderabad to work along with Mulla Saheb and other nationalist Muslims. In the mean time I received a letter from my brother-in-law that Mulla Saheb wanted to refer to my resignation in the next issue of the weekly paper and sought permission. I gave permission and asked my brother-in-law to show him the copy of my resignation which I had kept in Hyderabad. In the same letter I wrote him that I had again decided to leave the Govt. job once for all. I was anxiously waiting for the 1st August so that I could take my salary and go to Hyderabad. I even said to one of my clerks who was going to Nanded on some official work to get my salary bill passed early and bring it before 1st August. At Nanded my clerk came to know that my resignation which had been copied to the government also had been accepted by the Revenue Dept. and orders to that effect received in the Taluqdar's office. This information he conveyed to me through a letter which was received by me on 31st July. On that I wrote to the Taluqdar that I had come to know that my resignation dated the 15th July had been accepted by the government, so I was proceeding to Hyderabad. This I did on 1st August. The official information of acceptance of the resignation was received by me after four or five days in Hyderabad.

Now I was free to take part in any activity I liked. Naturally on my return I saw Mulla Saheb. On his suggestion Sardar Ali Khan (one of my brothers-in-law who shared my views on the policy of the Ithahadul-Muslimeen) and I saw many persons. Prominent among them was

Mr. Abul Hussain Syed Ali. I gave him the details of the situation in the districts. I told him how the Razakars were indulging in loot and arson. He asked me what I proposed to do. I said that we could seek an interview with Mr. Kasim Razvi and explain to him all the matter He replied that Mr. Kasim Razvi might refuse to see me. I said that we had come to him only for this reason. He was a prominent man. If he sought an interview it would be granted by the Razakar leader. The issue of 'Kadim' in which Mulla Saheb had referred to my resignation and had praised me very much was lying on the table in front of Mr. Abdul Hussain. By its folding it was apparent that he had not read that paper. He asked me first to see a person whose name and address he gave me. In the afternoon we (Sardar Ali Khan and I) went to that person. I was introduced to him by my brother-in-law. He was a young man and seemed to belong to the party of Abul Hussain Syed Ali. To him also I gave the details of the situation in the districts. He also asked me what I proposed to do. I repeated the reply given to his leader and added that if Mr.KasimRazvi did not change his attitude we would go to the public through the press and other means and expose the acts committed by Razakars. At this suggestion he became very excited and said to me that whatever the Razakars might do he would not say a word against them or sign any statement to that effect.From this and other things I came to know that the gentleman was in no way against the policy adopted by Kasim Razvi. He just wanted that he should be replaced by Mr. Abul Hussain Syed Ali on some score or the other. It was only power politics. There was no point in continuing the talk. We took leave of him and returned.

The next day Sardar and I again went to Mr. Abul Hussain and told him that we had seen the person to whom he had directed us. He asked us whether we wanted to issue some statement against Razakars. I replied that we would first see the Ithahadul Muslimeen leaders and point out to them the dangerous policy they were following. If they changed, well and good. Otherwise the Muslims would have to be told the dangers of the policy their leaders had adopted. In doing so, naturally, the Razakar activities would have to be pointed out. At this he asked me how many gundas I had to back me because he told me that Kasim Razvi derived his strength from gundas alone. If he issued any statement against the policy of the Ithahadul Muslimeen or against the Razakar activities, his car might be damaged on the road, his house might be raided and his children attacked by the gundas of Kasim Razvi. Because of that he was not ready to take any step until he also had a sufficient number of gundas on his side to face the Razvi gundas. At that I said that he was a big leader. The public at large knew him. If he said anything it would be listened to carefully. Gundas might differ but more sensible and educated persons would come round to his side and make the Razakar leader change his attitude and thus make him compromise with the Indian Union. He said that he could not take such a step and added that I could raise my sole voice; because I had made a great sacrifice (it seemed he had read about my resignation in Kadim) people might respond to my appeal. So our talk concluded.

Many of the other Muslims we met did feel that the policy of the Ithahadul Muslimeen was wrong but were not ready to come out against it openly.

In the mean-time Mulla Saheb took me to Mr. Baker Ali Mirza. We three decided to issue an appeal to Muslims and point out the dangers of the Ithahadul Muslimeen's policy and also give some details of the Razakar actvities in districts. I first drafted the statement and showed it to Mulla Saheb. He said it was very open and direct. We should start the statement with some thing which was accepted by all namely, the maintenance of law and order. So I asked Mulla Saheb to draft the statement himself which he did. But Mr. Baker Ali Mirza did not think it a strong one. Then Mr. Baker Ali Mirza was asked to draft the statement and show it to Barrister Akbar Ali Khan, asking him whether he would also sign it. Accordingly he drafted the statement and showed it to Barrister Akbar Ali Khan. Though he might have agreed with the ideas underlying the statement, he did not sign it and said that there should be some practical suggestions to improve the situation and mere criticism would not do. Even this draft was not agreed upon. SoMullaSaheb drafted a lengthy statement. First we three (Mulla Saheb, Baker Ali Mirza and I) read the draft and then we all went with it to Nawab Manzoor Jung. I was not very agreeble to go to the Nawab and take his signature on the statement. I had thought he would be like one of the Hyderabad Nawabs. But Mulla Saheb told me that he was a staunch nationalist Muslim and would sign the statement readily. When we all met him in his house, I really found him a step ahead of all of us in nationalist ideas. He was very critical of the Ithahadul Muslimeen's policy and had foreseen the results of it.

Nawab Manzoor Jung signed the statement with very slight changes in one or two places. He also rang up the editor of 'Payam' (an Urdu Daily) with the request to leave some space in his paper for the next day for this statement. The editor desired that some paper should be supplied to him. The Nawab arranged that, I think, through Raja Ganereval. Mulla Saheb, Baker Ali Mirza and I signed the statement in the Nawab's house. Then we three (leaving the Nawab in his house) went to many persons to obtain their signatures to the statement if they subscribed to our view. As far as I remember we saw Mr.Abu Sayeed Mirza, Mr. Sajjad Mirza, Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung, Mr. Ahmed Mirza, Mohd. Hussain Jaffery and Mr. Hussain Abdul Muneem.

Nawab Mehdi Nawaz Jung appreciated the ideas which our statement contained. But he was still in Government service, so he did not sign the statement. When he asked me about the situation in the districts I showed it to him in clear terms. While explaining I told him that we Muslims should behave in such a way that if times changed and outside attackers came our Hindu neighbours should safeguard us. But our behaviour was such that our neighbours would catch and present us to the attackers. TheNawab Saheb was very much impressed by this sentence. He took down my address and said that he would arrange a meeting between me and Mr. Laik Ali, the then Prime Minister of Hyderabad, so that I might give the real facts to him about the districts.

Our statement was later signed by Mr. Ahmed Mirza Retd. Chief Engineer Mr. Mohd. Hussain Jaffery retired Director Public Instruction and Mr Hussain Abdul Muneem retired Accountant General. My brother-in-law Sardar Ali Khan was ready to sign the statement. As he was still a student of M A. Mr. Baker Ali Mirza told me not to take his signature. So he was dropped. Taking this signed statement I went to the office of the 'Payam' and gave it there for publication in the next issue. Accordingly on 13th August 1948 the following statement of ours was published in 'Payam'.

"You know how bad are the days through which the State is now passing. This condition has partly been created by us and is partly the result of outside things. During this period we got many opportunities to change this condition for better. But we did not avail ourselves of them. Consequently the situation changed from bad to worse and internal disorder increased. There is not a single district in the State where riots and murders are not rampant and where internal administration has not deteriorated. It is unfortunate that our relations with the Indian Union, for some reason or the other have not been good. The blockade has affected our day—to—day normal life. The doors of rest and satisfaction have been closed upon us. We would have borne all this, had we believed that our State would come out safe from this current of destruction. We would have offered any amount of sacrifice, had we known that the path we are treading leads to our destination and salvation. Alas it is not so. False propaganda, has affected the mentality of the community to such an extent that it has lost the capacity to appreciate facts. We feel it our duty not to keep quiet at this juncture but as well-wishers of the state, raise our voice to the extent possible. In our view, the mischief from outside and internal disorder can be removed by creating good relations with the Indian Union and by setting up a government which should not only have the confidence of the people but should also be responsible and answerable to them. It is not correct to say to the people that accession is slavery and subordination, whereas we will have to accede only to the extent of defence, communication and foreign affairs, and that too on an equal footing. And this we have accepted by entering into the Stand Still Agreement. Now the question of Paramountcy does not exist. Leaving aside the past writings and statements for brevity's sake, we are content to quote the following sentences from the recent speech of Pandit Nehru made by him on 10th August in Delhi.

> "Accession does not mean that Hyderabad should become the slave of India. It means that every body in every part of the country should get independence. Accession means equality". Hindu 10th August 1948.

There is a group in the Muslims' representative 'Majlis' which believes in accession. Or else there would not have been the present agreement of accession (referring to the Stand Still Agreement). Most of the sensible and educated Muslims of Hyderabad feel that Hyderabad should necessarily co-operate and join with the Indian Union in these

subjects. Since 15th August when India was divided and Pakistan created, the fate of Hyderabad historically and geographically has been linked with India. But the people who got influence in the Hyderabad politics wanted to link the State with Pakistan and spoil the relations with the Union. As the Government was under their influence, it could not be expected of them that they would come to amicable terms with the Government of India and improve relations with it. As far as the responsible government is concerned, the 'Ala Hazrat Bandegane Auli' (H. E. H. the Nizam) has decided the question with his shrewd Judgment. In concerned 'Firmans'( ) he asked his Prime Minister to form such a responsible government which should have the confidence of the people. But it is a matter for regret that these orders have not been complied with.

Everybody in Hyderabad knows how cordial the relations between Hindus and Muslims were, only some days before this day. But due to the behaviour of the present Government communal feelings have become bitter and relations strained. The Government has specially proved itself to be communally partial by not heeding to the cries of the Hindu community against the Razakars.

The subversive activities of this organisation are open. Three Ministers at different times have resigned on this issue alone. Instead of paying attention to these complaints and making enquiry into these allegations. and punishing the culprits, which is the duty of every civilised government. they treated the complaints lightly as if nothing had happened and some times they backed these activities by refuting meaninglessly some of the complaints. This does not befit any government worth the name. Nor can any Muslim who is even slightly acquainted with the Islamic and Asain culture, tradition, and Islamic teachings support this tyranny and oppression. As a result of this, where there were no communal feelings, they have now been flared up. The relations between Hindus and Muslims have been strained. The confidence and the reliance which the people had in their minds have now disappeared. Even now we could say that the people have got the attachment and the respect which they had for H.E.H. the Nizam in the past. But there is every fear that if the wrong policy of the Government is not checked, this respect and the attachment would also be adversely affected.

We make a fervent appeal that the present Government should be changed immediately. This Government, though given a sufficient time, has failed to maintain law and order in the state. This Government could also not improve the external relations, on which the internal law and order greatly rested. Hyderabad is now in very great economic difficulties. The progress in different directions has stopped and it will be so for a long time to come. Instead of spending the country's money on its industrial and economic development, huge amounts have been wasted in making anti-Indian Union propaganda in foreign countries.

If we have to improve our relations with the Indian Union and also establish internal law and order, which no sensible person can deny, the appointment of a provisional government in place of the present one

becomes essential. The proposed government should be such as to win the confidence of all communities and also establish the responsible government as early as possible. Keeping the internal autonomy we should have agreement on the three subjects with equality and on better terms and if necessary we should agree to have referendum.

If we wish the welfare of our country, we should immediately disband the Razakar organisation, the subversive activities of which are apparent and which have strained the communal relations and have paralysed the Government administration. The government is well established and strong only if there is internal law and order. At present the Indian armies are marching towards our State on the plea that there is no law and order in the State. And due to internal disorder and the deterioration of government administration, we are not in a position to defend ourselves well. All the cries (of self-defence) which have been uttered to deceive the people are proving themselves false and ineffective. We cannot comprehend the result (that would befall us) if this condition continues.

We, who have remained faithful for generations cannot remain as silent spectators for long. It is our duty to point out what we feel beneficial to our Master and to the nation. Tenets of our religion also say that peace is better than war and that we should always side with good and pious things against evil and the tyrannical. Opposition to any nation should not stop us from being fair and just. It becomes criminal to keep quiet, when we see that due to the wrong policy of a party, the State will be destroyed. Whatever majority such a party may have, 'Do not obey anybody against God'.

We hope our brethren will support us in our stand and will not be mere passive spectators looking at the destruction of the State. Or else they will be held answerable to God and the people.

We pray to God that our state may be saved from all calamities, and peace, tranquility and well-being of the people may prevail under our Master".

We would have got our statement published in 'Imroz'. But the Government had imposed pre-censorship on it. We did not want that the Government should see our statement before it was published. So we selected another paper without any precensorship which could also publish our statement. Now we desired that it should also be published in 'Imroz.' Mr. Baker Ali Mirza wrote a letter to Mr. B. Ramkrishna Rao (in whose house Mr. Shoebullah Khan had established his office of Imroz) introducing me to him. Mr.B. Ramakrishna Rao had read our statement before I met him and had appreciated it very much. We discussed the situation in the State. I said that the great fear in the Muslims' mind was that they would be deprived of government services, in case Hyderabad became part of the Indian Union. That fear should be dispelled in some way or the other. He replied that the fear was baseless. Muslims had a long experience in

Govt. service and it will take a long time to reduce their number in it. He added, "Suppose I become Chief Minister of this State in the near future, do you think that I will run the Govt. machinery efficiently without taking advantage of the experience of the Muslims in it".

In the meantime, Shoebullah Khan came. He was young and handsome. He was very happy over our issuing the statement. However he complained that it was not first published in his paper. I gave him the reason I have stated above. After talking with him also on the present situation in the State, I handed him a copy of our statement for publiction in his paper.

I was happy to learn from Mr. B. Ramakrishna Rao that our statement created a very favourable impression in the nationalist circle. The demand of the paper was so much that it was sold even at 8-annas when its price was 2-annas each.

It was at about 10 p.m. that day when my youngest brother-in-law returned home and told me that the Nizam Gazette, an Urdu Daily had published a supplementary over our statement and had described us as seven traitors of the country. I do not remember whether he had brought a copy of the supplementary. But from the next day it was evident that our statement had raised a tempest. All the Ithahadi papers began condemnig us.

The son of Mr. Mohd. Hussain Jafferi who was himself a Govt. servant issued a statement in the press condemning the statement of his father and others very severely. He said that our statement reminded him of the conduct of Mir Jaffar and Mir Saddiq.

The Orient Press News Agency stated that this statement was issued at the instance of the Government of India. According to it, the Indian Union threatened Nawab Manzoor Jung with the freezing of his property situated in the Union if he did not issue such a statement.

Eighteen Urdu writers also severely criticised our statement. They said that as our anti-Independence activities had become open, we should not remain free persons. When the Indian Union could not tolerate its opponents, when Pakistan could crush the activities of her enemies, why should the Hyderabad Government tolerate us. They also suggested that no paper should have freedom to publish such statements.

On 16th August, the Rahebere Deccen wrote a very strong editorial. It suspected the motive of our statement. It stated that we signatories were all from the party of Mirza Ismail and that this statement was issued at the instance of Government of India. At a time when Hyderabad was engaged in a life and death struggle, we did a great dis-service by issuing such a traitorous statement. The paper demanded from the Government that we should be punished as severely as a traitor could be punished.

One gentleman who was a son-in-law of Nawab Manzoor Jung was so excited by our statement that he sent in his resignation to the sadre Azam (Prime Minister) of the state, marking a copy to the press. Like others, he criticised our statement and praised the Razakar Organisation. As he knew that as a Government servant he could not issue a public statement, he requested the Government to accept his resignation from the State service.

On 18th August, Mr. Kasim Razvi also referred to us in his speech. He said that Mirza Ismail, Zain Yar Jung, Manzoor Jung and others would not be tolerated. Any hand which was raised against the honour and the self respect of Muslims, would be put down and cut.

In the meantime it had appeared in the press that the Government was stopping the pensions of those signatories who were retired Govt. servants. According to a news agency, all the political quarters considered this step of the Government to be a very mild one. According to it, the quarters which held sound views felt that death could only be a suitable punishment for traitors like us.

Mr. Nazar Ali, president of the Action Committee of Nanded Dist. issued a statement saying 'stoppage of pension would not do. The treasuries of Mr. K. M Munshi were open for our maintenance. We were political orphans. Our conduct was worse than that of Mir Jaffer and Mir Sadiq. We were like a snake in the sleeve. Only death could be suitable punishment for us'. Lastly he said, 'If the Government is unable to accept the popular demand against these mean and treacherous persons, then I appeal to the President of the Ithahadi Majlis to immediately amputate this infected part of the body. Or else there is every danger of disorder in the country.'

One retired Sessions Judge issued a similar statement giving the example of Sir Rogers Casement, John Amery, Laval and Marshal Petain and demanded that capital punishment should be accorded to us. There were many more such statements. The Government also issued a press note on 23rd August criticising our conduct in issuing such a statement.

But nobody tried to reply to our arguments. They were just questioning our motives. Some body wrote that Mr. Munshi was at the back of this statement. It was suggested that Hosh Yar Jung and Dr. Abdul Latif had someth ng to do with the statement. But it was all incorrect. Except the signatories nobody else had any thing to do with the statement. I think, barring Manzoor Jung, nobody of us had seen Mr. K. M. Munshi till then. Nawab Manzoor Jung had not initiated or drafted that statement. He only signed it, very gladly of course, with very slight changes in one or two places. However this unexpectedly severe reaction to our statement made some of us nervous.

I think it was 15th August when I went to one of the seven signatories to talk about our next step in pursuance of our objective. I found him very upset. He told me that we committed a very grave mistake in issuing that statement. It seemed he recieved telepeone calls at every two minutes, interval from his friends pointing out the risk he had run in signing the statement. Three out of seven signatories were Mirzas : Ahmed Mirza, Baker Ali Mirza and Fareed Mirza. Some body told him that all Mirzas and thier families would be wiped out by Razakars. As a result he informed me that he had sent a statement of his to be broadcast by the Hyderabad Radio. As far as I remember he had written that he had signed our statement without reading it. He further added that he was as loyal to the State as everyone else. I returned from him a bit disappointed. I went to another Muslim, a Barrister who,I was told,was a nationalist and would help us in our cause. He was also afraid. He said he did not intend to issue any statement favouring ours. The fact was that there were many muslims who disagreed with the policy of Ithahadul Muslimeen but were afraid to criticise it openly. But there was a gentleman by name Faiq Hussain a retired 2nd Taluqdar who issued a statement entirely agreeing with our views.

Munzoor jung, Mulla Abdul Basith, Baker Ali Mirza and I stuck to our stand strongly. Mr. Mohd. Hussain Jafferi did not recant but issued another statement, a very polite one, appealing to the critics to tolerate the views different from or opposed to theirs, because that was the essence of democracy. However he thought that no further action should be taken by us towards achieving of our objective that is influencing the Government to come to some permanent settlement with the Indian Union.

The Government had asked the four pensioner-signatories to explain why their pension should not be stopped because of their treacherous activites. Since I had resigned from Government service and Mr. Baker Ali Mirza was not in it, we were not troubled with any such notice. Among the replies I saw, the best was of Mulla Saheb.

Mulla Abdul Basith also gave a very good reply to the criticism made against our statement by the Ithahadi circles. This was published in his paper 'Kadim' of 16th August 1948. He made it clear that this statement had nothing to do with Mr. Munshi, Mirza Ismail or any other so called Indian agent. Nawab Manzoor Jung did not draft the statement but only signed it gladly when it was presented to him. Our asking for responsible government and agreement with the Indian Union could never be termed as treason. He hit back by saying that traitors were those who created hurdles in the achievement of these ends. He referred to the criticism of our being unknown persons and stated that though we were not the persons to seek platform popularity, many of us had passed the greater part of our lives doing our duty with integrity and honesty. He referred to me as a young man who in loyalty to and sympathy for his country resigned his post and set an example for other young people.

In the same issue of 'Kadim' of 16 th August, my detailed statement about the happenings of Loha also appeared. Even though I contradicted parts of the statement of Mr. Joshi, the ex-Minister of the Nizam's Government about the happenings there, I gave the full details about how the pathans looted, burned and killed some persons and how the so-called Razakars looted and burned the shops and houses the next day in the presence of police constables and officers and the Khandar president of the Ithahadul Muslimeen. Finally I informed the Muslims that scores of big and small acts of loot and arson were being committed by members of our community. 'Time has come when in the name of humanity and Islam, we should prevent our brethren from committing such acts. Or else time is not far, when we shall find ourselves in the pit of destruction', I affirmed.

Only the part of my statement pertaining to contradiction was published in Urdu Press with big head-lines. But the details of the happenings which should have put the heads of Muslims down in shame were entirely ignored.

On the morning of 22nd August I went to Sri. Gopal Rao Tuljapurker Advocate in connection with my case pending before the Rent controller. With all regret he informed me that Shoebulla Khan, editor of Imroz had been murdered. He was a staunch nationalist Muslim severely criticising the policy of the Ithahadul Muslimeen. It was evident that he was murdered only because of his political views. No doubt I felt very much worried and angry over this sad news. I thought that six or seven muslims might also meet with the same fate. After talking about this sad news and also about my business I hurried back home, and wrote my diary thinking that it might be the last one. At 10 a.m. I went to the court. I had thought that the case would be adjourned soon and I would be able to attend the funeral of Shoebulla Khan. But that day my defendant had not come to the court, so my counsel insisted that I should wait and get my statement recorded. It was past 2 p.m. when I came back home to have lunch and then go to Shoebulla Khan's house. But an acquaintance of mine came and informed that his body had been brought to the graveyard near my house and would be buried there. That gentleman also entered with me in arguments about our attitude towards the so-called Independence of the State. Like many Muslims he thought we were on the wrong path. As Shoebulla Khan was his friend he had gone to his funeral; otherwise their ideas were quite opposed to each other. After he left, I had my lunch and rushed to the graveyard. But there was nobody there. So I went to Shoebulla Khan's house. His father was at the door. I condoled with him and said that his son lost his life for a cause. Lives of thousands of muslims would be saved by this sacrifice. He did not say any thing but shed tears.

From there I went to Mr.Baker Ali Mirza much depressed as I was. Mr. Baker Ali Mirza along with Mr. Kashi Nath Rao Vaidia had issued a statement strongly condemning this cold blooded murder. I also wished to issue a similar statement. But Mulla Saheb told me not to do that.

He said that he would write an editorial on this murder. He also asked me not to speak at a condolence meeting being held in Sultan Bazar and in which I had agreed to speak. I cannot say whether it was due to my weakness or to the respect and regard I held for Mulla Saheb that I complied with his wish. But one thing was clear. He had a long experience of public life and his advice given to me was of unquestionable sincerity.

After this tragic incident we, Mulla Saheb, Baker Ali Mirza and myself took some precautions. We decided to return to our homes before sunset. We continued our activities in day time. Mulla Saheb used to go in a rikshaw and I on bicycle. Sometimes we returned home after sunset. I wanted to accompany Mulla Saheb to his house and then return to mine. But Mulla Saheb never agreed that I should go along with him as an escort. He insisted that I should go my own way. I was allowed to accompany him upto Abid Road or Puthli Bowli. He always went in open Rikshaw with its hood being down.I was very much impressed by his fearlessness.It had been feared that the next target after Shoebullah Khan, would be Mulla Saheb or Manzoor Jung because they were very prominent among the seven 'traitors'. However Nawab Manzoor Jung complied with the request of his son and went to the latter's house at Adikmet, far from the city.

One day when I was sitting in Kadim's office at Mulla Saheb's house, Mr. Hakim Maqsood Ali Khan (Nawab Maqsood Jung) came there and desired to see Mulla saheb. He was called in and both had a talk in a separate room. After his departure Mulla Saheb told me that he had been sent by the Nizam. The Nizam wanted to see us and explain the present situation obtaining in the State. As our statement had gone against the basic claim of the State in the United Nations, the Nizam desired that we should sign another statement after the disclosure of true facts (which would change our attitude) in the presence of the Nizam. The statement if signed would uphold the claim of the State in the United Nations. Mulla Saheb, being considerate to the feelings of the messenger' said that he would consult his colleagues before giving any definite reply. I at once told him that we should never give any commitment that we would sign any statement in the presence of the Nizam, however we might be convinced about our ignorance of true facts which had led us to issue the statement on 13th August. If the Nizam could really convince us that our public statement was not correct in relation to true facts, we would again issue a public statement contradicting the previous one. But we would never sign any statement drafted or presented by the Nizam in his presence. The same attitude was taken by our other active colleagues.

One day, Mr. Baber Mirza son of Nawab Manzoor Jung called us to his place at Adikmet. Mulla Saheb, Hussain Abdul Muneem and I went to the house of Baker Ali Mirza, so that we could all go to Adikmet where Manzoor Jung was staying with his son. When Mrs. Baker Ali Mirza came to know that we had come there to take Baker Ali Mirza along with us, she got nervous. She had been told that Razakars had taken pledge to murder us and cut our hands in compliance with the instructions

given by their President. She was not at all willing to part with her husband even for a short time. She said that she would also accompany him. We said that it was not advisable for her to come along with us. Mulla Saheb jokingly said that we would return her Baker quite safe. But it was quite evident that she was very anxious about her husband's life. In her anxiety she asked why the Government did not arrest all of us. If we were arrested there would be security for our lives. Now there was danger that gundas would attack us any moment. Two constables had been posted at each of the houses of the six signatories (one having withdrawn his name from the statement). But they were unarmed. We felt that they had been posted not to guard us but to watch our activities. After much persuasion, she agreed to her husband going alone with us.

First we met Baber Mirza. He said that the Government was very angry with our statement. They were very much worried because our statement could be used in the United Nations against the claim of the Hyderabad state there. So the Nizam wanted that we should issue such a statement which might not necessarily contradict our previous statement but would justify the claim of the Hyderabad delegation at the United Nations. He said that our purpose was only to express our views but was not to pursue the matter as active politicians. That purpose had been well achieved by our statement. Now we should safeguard the position of the Government also by issuing another statement. I replied that our obejctive was not merely to issue the statement. We had wanted and still wished to organise the Muslim opinion to support our point of view and thus influence the Government to come to terms with the Indian union. Mulla Saheb agreed with my views. Baber Mirza gave us a kind of warning. He said that he had never seen such a strong Government in Hyderabad as it was there then. We did not agree to any thing he was trying to drive at.

Afterwards we were taken to a room where Nawab Munzoor Jung was sitting. Nawab Saheb was in high spirits at that time. He informed us that the Nizam had sent him a draft statement through a messenger for his signature. He took the envelope which contained the draft statement and touched his eyes to it and put it over his head and returned it to the messenger saying that he would not change even a comma or semicolon of his previous statement, much less sign any statement contradicting or differing from the previous one. We talked about many things. Then Nawab Saheb wanted to know whether we would stick to our line of action at any cost. Mulla Saheb and Baker Ali Mirza pledged that they would. When my turn came I said that I was so very strongly convinced about our stand, that even if my colleagues withdrew from their stand, I would never do. These were my ideas for the present. About future I could not say. Nawab Saheb remarked "Pledge is not taken in this way". At that I said that I would stick to the stand at all cost.

Then we returned to our houses. Mrs. Baker Ali Mirza was naturally very happy at the safe return of her husband.

One day Raja Ganerawal took me to see Manzoor Jung at Adikmet. It seems Begum Munzoor Jung had written him some letter about the pressure being brought to bear by the Nizam on Nawab Saheb and his heart trouble. We both met the Nawab. He was a bit upset that day. He said that he was receiving very frequent telephone calls from the Nizam's Palace. He wanted to go outside the State and preferably stay in Wardha. He asked me to accompany him. I said that I had no objection to go along with him outside the State. But I drew his attention to the statement of of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in which he had appealed to the Muslims of the Indian Union to go to Hyderabad State and restrain their brothers from their inhuman and foolish activities. I said that when the Congress leaders expected the Muslims of the Union to go to Hyderabad and do the work there, how would they like the Muslims from Hyderabad to leave the State and go to the Union. Our work was in the State alone. Raja Ganerawal supported my views and Nawab Saheb also kept quiet. Begum Munzoor Jung and Babar Mirza were afraid of the heart trouble of the Nawab. They were thinking that the pressure of the Nizam was too much to be borne by his weak heart. But the Nawab bore it successfully.

My father-in-law's house was in Nazam Lines, Goshamahal. That was a cantonment area under the Nazam battalion. After the murder of Shoebulla Khan, we had feared that Razakars would attack us also. There was danger of our children and other relatives being attacked on account of us, if our houses were raided by Razakars. So Mulla Saheb and myself had thought of shifting to the vacant house of Mulla Saheb in Himayathnagar and announce the fact in the local papers By this way we wanted to safeguard our children and relatives, who might suffer due to a raid on our house.But my brothers-in-law said to me that there was not much danger of their house being raided as it was situated in the cantonment, area. It was on the evening of 26th or 27th August, when my father-in-law came direct to me from outside. I was alone in the room. He told me that he had been called by the Army Officer in-charge of the Lines. with whom he had a very long talk before coming to me. The Army Officer told my father-in-law that he had received a letter from the police giving the full details of my activities and with a request to protect my life. He said that I was a traitor to the Government and to the country. About four hundred Razakars had pledged themselves to kill all of us and leave no trace of us. Not only would I be killed (as there were not enough men to protect me from the Razakars) but on account of me, my children and my in-law's would also be attacked and our house looted and burnt. A traitor like myself could not live in the cantonment area. So the officer strongly advised my father-in-law to ask me to leave the house immediately. This terrifying speech had its effect on my father-in-law's mind. He without going inside the house came to me and said all these facts. I told him how Mulla Saheb and I originally had planned to go and live in Himayathnager and how my brothers-in-law had stopped me from doing that. But my father-in-law had been terrified by the officer so much that he told me' 'Baba, bad time never comes with a warning. So it is better that you should go and live in some other house'. I replied that I would shift from the house within a day or two. After my father-in-law left the

room, my wife came. I told her all about this. The colour of her face changed but she did not say any thing. But when Sardar Ali Khan came to know about what his father had told me he got very angry with his father. The poor old man got perplexed. Whatever he had told me was in the interest of his and my children. However I did not leave the house on the persuasion of my brothers-in-law and my house also was not raided by the Razakars.

One young Muslim who was known to Mulla Saheb came to him and informed that Pandit Ramachari wanted to see us at his house or at any other place according to our convenience. The time and place were fixed and we all met at the house of Barrister Sri Kishen one evening. It was decided that we should again meet at Pt. Ramachari's house, when he would invite some of his friends also. Accordingly on 1st. September, Mulla Saheb, Mr. & Mrs. Heda, Pt. Ramachari and I met and took stock of the situation. Mulla Sheb and I said to our Hindu friends that Muslims of the State were afraid of losing their Govt. services if the State acceded to the Indian Union. We requested them to issue statements assuring the Muslims that their jobs would not be affected. Accordingly Pt. Ramachari and his friend issued a public statement trying to allay the fears of the Muslims. But Muslims at large were not willing to listen to any body except to their Ithahadi leaders.

As I have written, our statement was published on 13th August. On 14th August we received invitations from Mr. K. M Munshi to attend the Independence Day function at his place in the evening of 15th August. Except Nawab Munzoor Jung, none of us attended the function. We thought that if high authorities of the State (who had also been invited there) saw us with Mr. Munshi, they would be convinced in their minds that our statement was the result of the conspiracy between us and Mr. Munshi. There were already some reports in Urdu papers to that effect. About me, in one of the Urdu papers (Charminar), it had appeared that I had been given a cheque for one lakh of rupees by Mr. Munshi. This was the reason why I had resigned my post and issued the statement.

In the last week of August or the 1st week of September, Mulla Saheb and myself decided that we should see Mr. Munshi and request him to provide us newsprint for Khadim and Payam. These were the only two Urdu papers which were criticising the policy of the Laik Ali Government very severely. We requested Baker Ali Mirza also to meet Mr. Munshi along with us. He said it was not advisable for him to meet Mr. Munshi at that stage. However he did not object to our project. On the other hand he took me to Sri Ram Kishen Dhoth and introduced me to him and told him that we wanted to see Mr. Munshi. He said that he would arrange the meeting. It was decided that Dhothji would bring a car at the traffic island in Barkathpura, from where we should all go to Mr. Munshi.

At the scheduled time, I reached the place in Barketpura. Mulla Saheb had already come and taken his seat in the car along with Dhothji and Pt. Narenderji. They were waiting for me. Here for the first time

I met Narenderji. I had heard much about his courage, sacrifice and continuous imprisonment. From there we all went to Mr. Munsh 's place at Bolarum. Reaching there we found that Dhothji had not taken an appointment for us. Mr. Munshi had given that time to some relative of Raja Dharam Karan. However hearing that we had gone there, he saw us and offered us tea. After some talk Mulla Saheb told Mr. Munshi that we wanted some help from him. He turned towards Dhothji and said that they should give us help. I felt that Mr. Munshi was mistaking that Mulla Saheb's request was for monetary help. So I hastened to correct that impression and said that we wanted newsprint for Khadim and Payam. For this also he asked Dhothji to help us. There was a great shortage of it due to the blockade of the state. On our way back, Dhothji and Narenderji wanted to take us to Sri Pannalal Petti. But we said that we would see him afterwards.

Now I began to meet Dhothji frequently as I felt he was friendly to me. He had known my brother-in-law (Sardar Ali Khan) for a long time. He used to learn spinning in Dhothji's class in the past. For some time, many years ago, a lady from Dhothji's class used to come to my father-in-law's house and teach his daughter (now my wife) spinning. All these facts brought Dhothji and me very close. One day, I think it was in Mercantile Bank, Dhothji took me aside and asked me whether I required any monetary help for the maintenance of my family. I thanked him for his kindness and told him that for about one year I did not require any such help as I had made arrangements for that period.

I came in contact with Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Sessions Judge. His views were quite identical with ours about the affairs of the State. He had then either retired or on leave preparatory to retirement. He also criticised the activities of the Ithahadul Muslimeen very severely. He appreciated our statement and gave O. S. Rupees one hundred as donation to the editor of Payam.

He once desired to see some of the Congress leaders and discuss the situation with them. I was asked to arrange that meeting. I went to Dhothji and requested him to come to H. A. Khan's house if possible with some of his colleagues. He did not know about H. A. Khan. So he was a bit hesitant to accept the invitation. In the meantime Narenderji came over there. When informed about the invitation, he readily accepted it. He told us that he knew Mr. Khan very well and that he had a high opinion about him.

Dhothji, Narenderji, Mulla Saheb and I met with Mr. Khan at his house one evening, and talked about many matters. Mr. Khan had come to know from his own source that the Government of India was making detailed arrangements to send the Indian Army to the State and take over the whole administration in their hands. He said that they had even selected their constables to man each and every Police Station in the State. Subsequent events proved that his information was to a great extent correct. Mr. Khan

wanted that some agreement or atleast some understanding should be arrived at between the representatives of Hindus and Muslims before such a change came. But nobody from us was in a position to deliver the goods. So we could only discuss and that we did extensively.

The sum of rupees one hundred donated by Mr. Khan for 'Payam' was paid by me to its editor without showing the name of the donor. Taking that receipt one evening I went to Khan's house. There I was told that he had gone to his cinema (which was in the name of his wife). I also went there as it was quite near his house. He was taking a round along with his manager and some other employees of the cinema. Seeing me he left those people and came to me and asked me the reason for my going there. I replied that I had brought the receipt for Rs.100/- donated by him for Payam. He exclaimed in a low tone, 'Burn it. The Razakars are after us. If they come to know that I am mingling with you, they will burn my cinema. Please do not see me in the public'. I hurrried back. His fear was justified as his stakes were high.

On 4th September Mr. Baker Ali Mirza issued a statement criticising the then Government and the Ithahadul Muslimeen. He exposed very ably to the public the difference between their word and action and pricked the bubbles one by one with their own arguments. I translated the statement in Urdu and sent it to Payam for publication. But nothing happened. Then Mr. Ramachari told the editor to publish it. But even then it was not published. I give below some extracts from the statement.

> "Those who accuse others of being puppets of India must know that there are such persons as puppets of Pakistan and Britain. Or is it not treason to sacrifice the interests of Hyderabad for the sake of Pakistan or Britain and to convert good Hyderabad gold into foreign scrap iron? Let us remember that mere abuse leads us nowhere and anger is a bad counseller.
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> A great deal is said about 'Independence'. It is a word to conjure with. But do these adovcates of Independence have belief in it, and does the Majlis itself stand for the Independence of Hyderabad? I know that leaders proclaim it in public meetings. But let us examine what they do and not what they say.The Majlis condemned the standstill Agreement and brought about the fall of the Ministry, and a few days later the self-same agreement was signed by the new Ministry and the Majlis maintained a golden silence. Is not the conclusion compelling that the Majlis was more intrested in the change of Ministry than in the Standstill Agreement or the Independence of Hyderabad?
>
> If the Majlis realy believed in the Independence of Hyderabad it would not alienate such a large section of people by its communal policy which is alien to the tradition of Hyderabad.

In administration even the "Rahbar-e-Deccen editorially comments on the bribery, corruption and favouritisim prevalent in the Government Departments. When the mother sees ugliness in her own child, then things must be very bad indeed".

On 7th September Sri Jawaharlal Nehru gave a stament about Hyderabad and said that the Indian Government would send its army to the State to be stationed at Secunderabad as before. From the statement it was evident that the Indian Army would march into the State within three or four days. We desired that Mr. Nehru should issue some statement assuring the Muslims of their life, property, honour and Government services. Pandit Ramachari wanted us to draft such a statement which he said would be transmitted to Delhi with a request to Mr. Nehru to issue it on his behalf with necessary changes. Mulla Saheb drafted the statement and gave it to Pandit Ramachari who gave it to Narenderji. But before it could be transmitted to Delhi Narenderji who was carrying it was arrested. Narenderji later told me that he had two papers with him on that day. He gave a copy of my resignation to some typing institute for getting more typed copies of it. But the draft statement in Mulla saheb's hand was with him when he was arrested. He said that he had to tell a lie to save Mulla Saheb. He told the policeman who had arrested him that he wanted to go to latrine. There he tore the statement into pieces and threw it in the gutter.

On 12th September Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Governor General of Pakistan died. I felt that the march of Indian Army into Hyderabad State was held up on 12th only due to his death.

In the early hours of 13th September 1948 the Indian Army marched into the State from many directions. The fear which I had in those days was the breaking out of communal riots. Thousands of Muslims were armed. Specially in Hyderabad city they were often seen armed with 303 guns. I feared that the Razakars would begin attacking Hindus at the news of the Indian forces attacking the State. I was glad that such a thing did not happen. Except in three or four places in the State where Razakars murdered some Hindus, they kept quiet during the Police Action. Especially in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, they remained very peaceful. Had they done any mischief in the cities, during or before the Police Action, the Muslims of these cities would have suffered the worst repercussions. Rightly or wrongly their attention was diverted towards the front. The Hyderabad Radio was continuously asking the Muslims and the Razakars to march to the front. Many young and innocent boys having no experience of war or the army and roused by the noble motives went to the front to defend, as it was put to them, their country, their nation and their honour. Most of them were holding the guns for the first time. Some took 'chanas' and 'murmuras' with them as their ration. Many did not have even this, How could these young boys fight against an organised army which was using tanks in great numbers? In many cases these young boys proved to be good fodder for the Indian army guns.

The Hyderabad Army as a whole did not fight against the Indian Army. Generally whenever the Indian Army proceeded forward, the Hyderabad Army retreated without putting up any fight. It seems the chief of the Hyderabad Army was putting up a show of a fight just to fool the Razakar leaders and the Ministers of the Laik Ali cabinet.I think this Police Action had been agreed to by the Nizam before it was launched by the Indian Army. Nawab Zain Yar Jung was very active in flying between Hyderabad and Delhi; in the days just preceding the Police Action. He had the full confidence of the Nizam. He was also liked by the Indian Government. I feel that the Nizam, seeing that things had gone out of his hands, should have agreed to allow the Indian Army to march into his State. And I also feel that General Aidrose had also been taken into confidence.

It was evident even much before the Police Action that the Hyderabad Army chief and other high army officers did not approve of the acts of the Razakars. Here I give the information which I got from Nawab Hoshyar Jung much before the Police Action. As I have written earlier, before we issued our statement on 13th August my brother-in-law and I went to many muslims who, we had been told, differed from the policy of the Ithahadul Muslimeen. Mulla Saheb had asked me to see Dr. Abdul Latif and he told me to see Nawab Hoshyar Jung also.

When my brother-in-law and I entered his 'bungalow' at Barketpura, we saw the Nawab in the Verandha ready to go outside. However my brother-in-law introduced me to him and said that seeing the subversive activities of the Razakars I had resigned my post of Tahsildar. He agreed that the situation was very bad and said that he had been called by the Nizam and that he was now going there. He would be very glad to see us the next day or so. At the appointed time we both went to him and had a long talk. At that time Mr. Ali Asgar Belgrami, retired Revenue Commissioner was also sitting there. I acquainted him with the activities of the Razakars in Nanded district, and told him about my fear of the sufferings these activities would bring to poor muslims in the villages if time changed. He agreed with me and said that if we continued to behave in the same way the time was not far off when our corpses would lie on roads and there would be nobody to bury them. I asked him why the Nizam did not disband the Razakars ? I do not remember the exact words. But he gave me the impression that the Nizam was helpless and that the police also could not be relied upon. But about the Army, he told me that General Aidrose had assured the Nizam that he would stand by his Master in any decision he took. During our talk I asked him about the arms said to have been brought by Sydney Cotton.In return he also put a question to me. "Are not these arms being brought for the Hyderabad Army ?" I replied "Of course by whom else they could be used". At this, Hoshyar Jung told us that General Aidrose had said that the Hyderabad Army could not stand against the Indian Army.

Whatever it might be, what was done in the circumstances was the best. Passions among Muslims were runnning very high. Had

the Nizam disbanded the Razakars and got their leaders arrested at this last stage, there might have been much bloodshed. The loyalty of the police was already in doubt. Even some armymen would have come out in favour of Ithahadul Muslimeen. Rebellion against the authority of the Nizam, communal riots and much bloodshed would have followed such an action. The State was saved to a great extent from this horror due to this diplomacy of the Nizam as a sequel to what was done by Nawab Zainyar Jung, General Aidrose and others.

Early in the morning on 17th September my father-in law went to the mosque near our house as usual. There, after the 'namaz', he came to know that all resistence by the State forces had ended and the Indian forces were about to enter the city. He also told us that there was a great panic among the Muslims present there. Having heard this I asked my youngest brother-in-law to go to Darus-slam (the head office of the Ithahadul-Muslimeen) and find out the things there. He came back and told me that Kasim Razvi was there but in an interior part and surrounded by some young Razakars. There was despair all round. There were a few Razakars and they too were very dejected. My brother-in-law was also informed that the Razakars' Chief had also asked all his followers to burn their Razakar uniforms and throw away the arms and ammunition. Later the same day Kasim Razvi also spoke in the Hyderabad Radio appealing to the Razakars to preserve peace. At last he did an act of wisdom. Had the battle continued and the Indian Army entered Hyderabad and Secunderabad cities fighting, many horrible things would have been witnessed. By agreeing to the cease-fire and surrender when the Indian Army was at the nearest point about 40 miles from the capital, Kasim Razvi really did a great thing for his community and to some extent for other communities also.

I remember that the same evening I went to Shri. Ramkishan Dhoth and Shri. Achuth Rao. The latter asked me what they should do now. I told him that now they should try to safguard the muslims. He replied that they would do everything to save the muslims.Even if one muslim was killed they would take it that another Mahatma Gandhi was murdered. What an assurance it was! I have no doubt that it was a sincere one.

On the morning of 18th September I went round some of the main bazaars of the city The Indian Army had not yet arrived. But it had all become known that Hyderabad had been defeated and it was a matter of some hours when the Indian Army would enter the capital. Thousands and thousands of Hindus, young and old, were roaming the streets of the city in a very jubilant mood. They were carrying tri-colour flags in their hands on bicycles, rickshaws, motor cars and other vehicles. They were shouting 'Jawaharlal Nehru ki Jai, Sardar Vallabhai Patel ki Jai, State Congress Zindabad' and such other slogans. The muslims were very much depressed and grieved. They had never expected that such a thing would happen. Their leaders had said to them that the time had come when they would march towards Delhi and hoist the Asafia flag on the Red Fort. But the result was quite the reverse and that too so sudden. Within five days every

thing had been changed. I felt very sorry for them. I thought that if their leaders had been a bit sensible, this change would have come in such a way when both the communities would have been happy and would have embraced each other. Ultimately the power from the minority would have gone to the majority. But the change would never have been so abrupt, and it would not have given a colour of victory to one community over the other. Bhopal with a Muslim Nawab at its head had also acceded to India. But the Muslims there did not consider themselves as defeated. Their morale was as high as that of others'. The Indian Union had been very considerate to the Hyderabad State. Even Sardar Patel had accepted that Hyderabad case was a special one and was ready to give special concessions to it. But the Ithahadi leaders had become blind. For maintaining their own power, they sacrificed the interests of their community. These were the thoughts which crossed my mind when I saw the Hindus in their natural jubilance. The next day, I think, I went to Pt Ramachari's house. Some gentlemen were sitting in the big hall of his house. Pt. Ramachari was inside. I was in coat and pantaloon. So I might have been taken as a non-muslim. One Hindu gentleman said to others that it happened well that they (Muslims) fought. Had any compromise taken place, they might have still remained proud of their untested strength. These were the ideas of even some educated Hindus.

For the first time after the change, I met Mr. Baker Ali Mirza on 19th September at his place. There I also met Mr. Harishchandra Heda and some congress volunteers. Mr. Heda told me to accompany him to his house to take stock of the present situation. Just then Mrs.Baker Ali Mirza (a Hindu lady) came and greeted me with all cheerfulness.She told me that I would now become 'Subedar' (Revenue Commissioner). I did not like the remark. I replied to her that had I known that the change would come so soon I would not have resigned my post. Though I was fully convinced that the Razakar activities and the so-called independence would not remain long, I never knew that the change would be so sudden.

The same day Mr. Heda and myself issued a joint statement appealing to the muslims not to entertain any fear and to believe in the secularism of the State.We said that we were confident that the Congressites would exert fully to maintain peace and communal harmony.

We received some reports about the looting of houses of muslims in Secunderabad and its environs. Mr. & Mrs. Heda formed a volunteer corps and began reaching these spots.GyanKumari Heda took a prominent part in this work. Sometimes I also accompanied her in such trips. On one occasion she showed great courage. In Bolarum, near the Army Barracks, some Sikh Army-men had caught hold of some goats grazing in the fields nearby. Somebody came and told Mrs. Heda that his goats had been caught hold of by the army-men. Accompanied by us she went towards that place She was walking fast and was ahead of all of us. Seeing her in excitement I asked her to be slow. But she went ahead, far into the fields. The goats were about to be slaughtered. But she raised her hand and asked them to stop. Having reached them she asked them whether they had purchased

those goats. In turn they asked her whether the goats belonged to her. 'Whether they belong to me or not, it is not correct for you to slaughter them without buying them from their owners. If you did any such thing it would spoil the name of the Indian Union', came the prompt reply from her. At this, one of the armymen asked his colleagues to release those goats which they still held in their hands. I was really impressed by her. She was young and we were only a few. On the other hand, there were many armymen and some of them armed. Only two or three days ago, they had entered the State capital in triumph. So I had feared that they might misbehave. But nothing happened. They had to listen to the call of a young woman, given in all earnestness and with courage.

As days passed by, reports of loot and murder of muslims in districts began coming in. Mr. & Mrs. Heda helped in bringing muslim families to the city from nearby districts whenever such help was sought from them.

On hearing the reports from the districts, Mulla Saheb, Baker Ali Mirza and I were very much disturbed. At that time, without the special permission of the Military Governor no civilian could fly from Hyderabad. As we knew that Mr. Baker Ali Mirza was known to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, we requested him to go to Delhi and inform him of the reports we were receiving from the districts. It was very dangerous for a Muslim to travel by train in those days. So Mrs Baker Ali Mirza insisted that she would accompany her husband upto Bombay, from where Mr. Baker Ali Mirza was to fly to Delhi. After reaching Delhi he saw Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Maulana Azad and other prominent persons and apprised them of the reports we had received. He could not see Mr. Nehru as he was busy and was to go on tour within a day or two.

In the meantime, we asked the State Congress leaders (with whom we had established relations) to take us to districts, specially those of Marathwada where disturbances had been wide spread and from where we had received very bad reports. Swamy Ramanand Tirth, the then State Congress President, informed me that he would take me to Bidar. But he postponed his tour once. Second time it seems, he went in a hurry. So he could not inform me. However on his return from his tour of Osmanabad, he said to me that Muslims had also suffered.

After our repeated requests, the State Congress deputed Sri Govind Rao Mahseker to take me to Nanded, Parbhani, and Nizamabad districts.

We started on this tour on 11th October 1948. My brother-in-law Mr Sardar Ali Khan, and a gentleman from Khander (who was anxious to see his family in Nanded) accompanied me. The days were such that we dared not go in 'Sherwani and Pyjama'. Fez cap was out of question. The responsibility of Mr. Mahseker was great. He was to guard us against any attack. We had heard that Muslims were hunted out in trains and if found out, were looted and attacked. Only once during our journey from Hyderabad to Nanded a young Hindu came in the

train and asked the passengers whether there was any Razakar travelling in the carriage. At that time I could see the anxiety of Mr. Mahseker because along with him there were three Muslims whom he had to take care of.

When we got down at Nanded, I could easily see the change. There were very few Muslims at the station. Atleast they were not in their usual garb. Gorkha armymen were still at the station and were, I think occupying the waiting rooms. Before we could go out of the station, I saw that some harsh words were exchanged between a young Marwadi and a Gorkha soldier. The Gorkha had a rifle in his hand. In the meantime some other soldiers came. The Gorkha began to remove the tricolour cloth badge fastened around the arm of the Marwadi. But he was obstructing the Gorkha and telling him that he would never allow him to remove the band from his arm. The Gorkha said that he would first remove the band and then punish the Marwadi. There were two Marwari women along with the young man. They were crying very much. There was a good number of persons but nobody dared to interfere in that quarrel being afraid of the Gorkha soldiers. However I could not keep quiet at the wailing of the women. I went to the Gorkha in all politeness and touching his chin with my hand requested him to let the Marwadi go. At this Mr. Mahseker grew very anxious and told me not to interfere in the quarrel. He caught hold of my hand and took me out of the station. I hope no harm was done to the Marwadi.

In Nanded I met many Muslims and found out what had happened during and after the Police Action. I went for some time to Khandar also. There the muslims had suffered very much. In the same tour I went to Parbhani, Basmath Nager and Nizamabad. I had feared that Muslims would suffer in the change which had come so suddenly. But the thing which troubled me most was that at some places muslims were looted and put to other humiliations in the presence of the Indian Army personnel At some places they also took advantage of the situation and made mon y in different ways. I gave a detailed report of what I saw and heard about the sufferings of muslims to Swamy Ramanand Tirth, the then President of the Pradesh Congress. When Kazi Abdul Gaffar came to Hyderabad from Delhi to know the situation, I gave him a copy of that report.

Kazi Abdul Gaffar went to Delhi and came back with Pandit Sunderlal and Maulana Abdul Mesri. Pandit Sunderlal was invited to tea by Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali. There were many Muslims to meet Pandit Sunderlal. Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali was a good coversationalist. He drew a graphic picture of the sufferings of muslims all over the State. He gave an estimate of the muslims that had been murdered, and looted and of the muslim women that were raped. At the end Pt. Sunderlal enquired whether the Hindus had also suffered in the same way before the Police Action. At that, everybody kept quiet. After a little silence one muslim said that there was no rape and murder by muslims. Loot and arson were also little. Mr. Dildar Hussain who knew that I had resigned my post protesting against the atrocities of the Razakars, told me in a low voice that I should speak on that occasion. I replied that I had liked to have a

separate interview with Pt. Sunderlal and apprise him of all the facts. However I turned to him and said that all kinds of atrocities had also been perpetuated on Hindus by the so called muslim Razakars. But no doubt what was done after the Police Action was much more than what had been done before.

General Choudri, the Military Governor of Hyderabad was going on a tour to Bider and Osmanabad districts. He requested Sunderlalji to accompany him and Sunderlalji wanted some muslims to go along with him. Barrister Akber Ali Khan and myself were asked to go on that tour.

Everywhere we found that people in thousands had assembled to greet the Military Governor who was then treated as their liberator. Numerous arches had been erected on the roads he was passing through. Whereever he went he was profusely garlanded and loudly cheered. After he had replied to the address presented to him. he requested Pandit Suderlal to address the gathering. Thus at three places Sunderlalji spoke on the same day. The theme of his speeches was the burning question of the time i. e. the relations between Hindus and Muslims. He always spoke with emotion and from the depth of his heart. He wept and made others weep. I for one wept on all the three occasions on the same day.

There was no time for us to show the grief and suffering of muslims to Pandit Sunderlal during the tour of the Military Governor. We had started by special train from Hyderabad at 10 p.m. on one day and alighted from the train in the next morning at Latur road. From there we went to Latur, Odgir, Ahmedpur and Bidar in open jeeps. At Bidar we again got into the special train and came back to Hyderabad at about 10 p.m. Thus our tour took only 24 hours.

To know what had happened during and after the Police Action in the districts, the Sunderlal delegation was divided into two parties One party consisted of Pandit Sunderlal, Kazi Abdul Gaffar, Mulla Abdul Basith and Mr Yunis Salim. The other party consisted of Maulana Abdulla Misri Mr. Faruksear and myself We covered Gulbarga, Bhir, and Aurangabad and the other party, toured Bidar, Osmanabad and Nanded. We visited many places in these districts, and collected information of the atrocities committed on muslims. Both the parties again met in Hyderabad and took stock of the information collected. The evidence recorded by me in our party was read out one day to Pandit Sunderlal in the Lake View Guest House where the delegation was staying. I had written names and places of the persons and what they had stated before us. It was a long tale of woe and suffering by muslims. At one stage when I was reading a statement of a young muslim woman who had stated that at a certain time gundas entered her house and misbehaved with her and then she was not allowed to sleep the whole night, meaning that she was repeatedly raped at intervals I found a sudden change in Pandit Sunderlal. He asked me to read the statement in low tone and asked whether there were any other muslims around. I was astonished. These tales, true as they,

affected the sensitive heart of Sunderlalji very deeply. Pandit Sunderlalji had to go to Delhi soon. So he said that the report would be finalised there and then submitted to Sri Jawaharlal Nehru.

Mr. Yunis Salim was to go to Delhi along with the delegation. Pandit Sunderlal asked me also to accompany him to Delhi. Though we (Mr. Yunis Salim and I) were not shown the actual report in its final shape we knew the whole evidence on which it was based. I am sure a true picture of the situation that prevailed then would have been given in the report.

Seeing the devastation of muslims specially in marathwada and the Karnatak districts of the state, Mulla Abdul Basith started a relief committee and some people began contributing to it. I was an active member of the Committee from its inception. We used to go jointly, sometimes separately to those places where the trouble had been very severe and the condition of muslims pitiable. In the first one or two months, we took congressmen along with us. Afterwards we went alone to the districts and gave help to the affected persons as far as possible.

The State Government also constituted one Relief and Rehabilitation Committee and nominated some members on it. The Government started the work in such a way as if they had to rehabilitate only those who had been uprooted before the Police Action. They were not ready to accept publicly that much worse had happened during and after the Police Action. But when Pt. Sunderlal's delegation submitted its report to the Prime Minister and I think, when they got some instructions from the Central Government, the State authorities agreed to remove the distinction of religion in rehabilitating the uprooted and in giving relief to the disturbed and the affected.

Mr. Krishnama Chari, Mulla Abdul Basith and myself were very active members of the Government Relief and Rehabilitation Committee and also of the private Relief Committee. We gave help to those affected from both the sources. Out of the disturbed districts I took Nanded, Parbhani, Aurangabad and Gulbarga and Mulla Saheb, chose Bidar and Osmanabad. We toured these districts extensively. We brought to the notice of the Government and also of local officials such as collectors and Superintendents of police numerous cases of illegal occupation of lands and houses of muslims, and harassment of muslims in different ways and also the condition of those non-Muslims who had suffered due to Razakars' activities. We were very much hampered in our task of taking muslims to their villages on account of Gundas being still active and the police making indiscriminate arrests of muslims on the plea of the crimes committed by them during the Razakar regime. Long after the police Action these arrests were continuing. Some people were making money out of these methods. At one stage, in order to get a muslim arrested, it was enough to allege that he was a Razakar. The propaganda against the Razakars was so severe that the Army and the police which came from outside the State sincerely believed that every Razakar specially that of

the Marathawada districts was guilty of rape or loot or arson. Such an impression had its effect. It took some time for such an impression to go. But much happened before that. The thing which troubled me very much was the keeping of muslims in jails under section 2 of the Hyderabad Defence Act and also the continuation of their arrests on the plea of some crimes said to have been committed before or during the Police Action. Much worse had happened after the Police Action. But nobody was arrested on that score. So I asked whether it was justice to arrest some persons for lesser crimes and not to lay hands on those who had committed more serious ones.

Seeing all this, we decided that we should go to Delhi and wait on Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Maulana Azaad and apprise them of the situation then prevalent in the State Mr. Abul Hassan Syed Ali and Barrister Akbar Ali Khan were also to be members of the delegation. But some days before the departure of the delegation Mr. Abul Hassan had an interview with the Military Governer, perhaps at the latter's desire. After the interview he not only refused to be included in the delegation but also advised us not to go to Delhi. Most of us were surprised at his sudden change. The days were such that our leaders were anxious to avoide even the slightest displeasure of the Military Governor. It was evident that if a Muslim delegation went to Delhi and complained against the admistration, the Military Governer would feel hurt. However Mulla Abdul Basith Mr. Anwar Khan, Mr. Younis Saleem and myself decided to stick to our previous decision and to go to Delhi and place all facts before the Ministers of the central Government.

We were first to meet Sardar Vallabhai Patel on 12th April 1949 in the evening. But when we reached his Kothi, we saw him going out. His private Secretary expressed his regret at the Sardar's inability to grant us the interview at that time because he had to go out on some urgent work. He said that the Sardar would certainly see us the next day at the same time. Instead of being disappointed we were a bit happy to get time to call Barrister Akbar Ali Khan from Hyderabad so that he might also form the delegation. During the night between 12th and 13th we tried our best to contact Mr. Khan on phone. The telephone exchange office every time said that nobody was replying from his house. Had we been able to contact him, he would have started by air the next day and seen the Patel in the evening. However we five Muslims Mulla Abdul Basith, Mr. Hamiduddin Qummar, Mr. Anwar Khan, Mr. Younis Salim and myself went to Sardar Patel's kothi exactly at 6. 30 p.m. and had an interview with him. We first congratulated him on his escape (quite unhurt) from an air accident in which his plane had to make a forced landing near the bank of a river due to some trouble in the engine. Then we came to our business and said that the rehabilitation work was not being done properly. The State Government had no reliable data with it. The committees formed by the Government were also not being consulted. The Civil Administration did what it liked. So far very superficial work had been done in this connection Still thousands of muslims remained uprooted

and on the verge of starvation. Arrests of muslims continued. Murderers and looters should no doubt be arrested. But arrests were indiscriminate. Muslims who held property in villages were arrested on some flimsy grounds. At this Sardar Patel asked whether we desired that even murderers should not be arrested. Mr. Younis Salim who was putting up the case replied that murderers should necessarily be arrested and that we would never complain against such arrests. On the other hand we would help the police in effecting these arrests. But it was unjust to arrest muslims on crimes said to have been committed years back. About the Special Tribunal also we complained severely. We said that the tribunal comprised three members. One was an Army officer, the second one was a civil officer and only the third one was from the Judiciary. Thus the majority of the members was non-judicial. The tribunal had been invested with the maximum powers. They had jurisdiction to try murderers and were competent to give capital punishment. Trial before the tribunal was summary and no appeal lay against their decision. Before such a tribunal cases of murder, loot and arson committed by muslims before and during the police action were to be tried. At this Sardar Patel said that the convicts should have the right of appeal. We desired that the right of appeal to the High Court of the State should be conceded.

Then we took up the cases of Muslim Officers. We said that they were suspended and dismissed on grounds of the lapses said to have been committed by them before the Police Action. The way of enquiry by Col. Rehman (appointed for the purpose by the Government) was not satisfactory. His decision was final and no appeal lay against it. Sardar Patel did not say any thing to this.

We also complained against the order of the State Government freezing the Bank Accounts of Muslims and against the restrictions placed on the alienation of Muslim property. The effect of the order was that any Muslim who wanted to sell any immovable property was to prove that he or she was not in any way related to any of the two hundred persons notified by the Government.

We had received many reports of corruption against the Police sent to our State from the adjoining provinces. We requested Sardar Patel to send them back to their places, because they were not only taking bribes, but were also not suited to the local conditions on many grounds. Most of them did not know the official language, Urdu. Further they knew that they had to go back after some time. So they were making money during their sojourn here.

Finally we requested the Home Minister to end the Military Government and bring in the popular government. Sardar Patel said that he was quite ready to end the Military Government, but he feared that by doing so, only Muslims would suffer. However if the Muslims in general wanted a change of government, he would do that. But he desired that their opinion should be acsertained. At the end we thanked him and took leave of him.

We were all happy at the patient hearing that Sardar Patel gave us.

On 14th April 1949, our delegation saw Mr. Nehru at 10 a.m. at his office. He had expressed his desire that our delegation should not comprise more than three persons. Accordingly Mulla Abdul Basith Younis Saleem and Anwar Khan saw the Prime Minister. He gave a sympathetic hearing to the delegation and took notes in detail. Mulla Saheb after-wards told me that Mr. Nehru talked to the members in a very simple and cordial manner. They felt as if he was also one of them. Mulla Saheb was very much impressed by the simplicity and sincerity of that great man. our complaints covered almost all those items which were represented to Sardar Patel. We were very hopeful about these interviews.

From Delhi we were to go to Lucknow to attend the annual session of the Jamaithul Ulamai Hind. In the delegation I was the only person who was not a member of the Jamaithul Ulamai Hind. Some friends persuaded me very much that I should become a member of that great body. I replied to them that I had great regard for the Jamaithul Ulama for what it had done in the achievement of the country's freedom and for what it was doing for the oppressed and the uprooted people. But I could not become a member of that institution because after all it was a communal body in the sense that its membership was open only toMuslims To the great disappointment of some of my colleagues I did not apply for the Jamaith's membership. However an invitation was extended to me to attend the open session of the Jamaithul Ulamai Hind at Lucknow. After attending the session we all again assembled at Delhi and then some of us returned to Hyderabad on 26th April.

On going through the newspapers of previous dates, I came to know that there had been misunderstanding about our delegation. Twelve Hindu gentlemen had issued a statement in which they expressed that our real purpose in taking delegations to Delhi and inviting delegations from Delhi was to prolong the Military government. One of the signatories was Mr M.Narsing Rao Editor of Raith Weekly. I was very much surprised on seeing such a statement which was contrary to the facts. I met Mr.Narsing Rao and gave him a copy of the memorandum which we had submitted to the ministers of the Central Government. I also read out those sentences of our memorandum in which we had requested the Central Government to end the Military regime in Hyderabad and instal popular government instead.

After staying for some days at Hyderabad, I again went on tour. I visited some places in Nanded and Bidar districts. I tried to rehabilitate some uprooted persons. Though about seven months had passed since the police Action, arrests and suspension of Muslim offiicers were still continuing. The Military Governor, General J.N.Choudhri had said at a press conference that they would notify a list of those persons who were wanted by the the Government in connection with the crimes committed by them before the police action. He had said that this would be done because the others not notified in the list might rest assured that they

would not be arrested for any thing done before the police Action. Months have passed after such a declaration but the list of the wanted persons was not published. In the meantime arrests continued at intervals. I felt that the Governmet was adopting this course intentionally, so that a greater number of muslim officers might run away to Pakistan in panic and thus create vacancies for Hindu officers. Whatever might have been the intention of the Government, the result was that the arrest of one muslim officer made more than one muslim officer run away to Pakistan. These were the things which made me issue the following public statement, which I drafted in Nanded.

Eight May 1949. "Eight months have passed since the Police Action. Still arrests continue to be made in connection with the acts committed before the Police Action. Though a great number of those who had been arrested on suspicion has been released, yet the number of persons still in jail is considerable. Many of these persons are innocent or have committed minor crimes. Many newspapers jointly and many persons individually have appealed to the Government for their release, but in vain. I have nothing to say about those against whom charge-sheets have been filed in the courts and the hearing has started. But there are numerous persons who have either been detained under section 2 of the ~~Detained~~ Detention Act or against whom the cases have been registered but 'challans' have not beeen presented in the court. I would like to ask the Government how long this sheer injustice would be done by keeping them in jail. Now to keep the Razakars or their leaders in detention has no meaning, as the centre of their subversive activities has disappeared. It is ridiculous to fear any harm to be done by them.

The cases registered with the Police but not presented to the court, should either be withdrawn or referred to courts within 15 days and the whole evidence produced in two or three hearings. It does not befit any Government that the Police, having arrested the persons and sent them to jails, should sit idle without taking any interest in getting their cases decided. This is my personal opinion that general amnesty should be given to those who have committed crimes either before or after the Police Action upto the end of October, so as to create a good atmosphere. I know that the State Congress has also proposed to grant general amnesty. What actually happening now is that the comparatively minor things of pre-Police Action days are being raked up and more serious acts after the Police Action are hushed up. For this, there is general resentment among the minority community.

The question of officers and Government servants deserves special attention of the Government, The suspension, dismissal, arrests of muslim officers and other Government servants and freezing of their properties at intervals are rendering their dependants to starvation and are causing anxiety to the remaining muslim officers and other Government servants. The state is suffering and will suffer in future by general dislocation of muslim officers. Whether for good or for ill, they had been closely connected with the Government for years. By their sudden removal, and by harassment of those who are still in service, the efficiency of every department has been greatly affected. Justice and magnanimity would demand another chance for them in the present regime. If they continued to be irresponsible, or disloyal. then the severest punishment could be given to them. This would have been in accordance with the treatment meted out by the Central and the Provincial Governments after the Independence to their old employees. But here the muslim Government employees are getting a different and ungenerous treatment.

The evil things created after the Police Action and which are still continuing are being entirely overlooked. But the old things however ordinary they might be, are being exaggerated and officers are harassed on that score.

During press conferences, the Military Governor promised twice that a list of those persons who were wanted by the Police in connection with crimes committed before or during the Police Action would be published and the rest of the people given an assurance that they would not be arrested for the pre-Police Action crimes. Though much time has passed, the promise has not yet been honoured. If such a list is publised and the rest of of the people given assurance, the fear of a good number of muslims that they may be arrested on some plea or the other would disappear and it would facilitate their rehabilitation."

During this period I was making extensive tours of Nanded, Parbhani and Gulbarga districts. Whatever cases of loot, murder, and forceful occupation of lands and houses came to my notice I brought them to the notice of the Government through the secretary of the Relief and Rehabilitation Department. I gave some cash and also cloth to the sufferers from the fund of the Government Department or from the Hyderabad Relief committee. I wrote many letters to Civil Administrators and Police officers to give help to the victims of the disturbances. I regret to say that very little response came from the responsible officers. Even letters such as the one given below did not bring any reply or action.

Fareed Mirza,
House No. 15, Nazam Lines.
Gosha Mahal, Hyderabad Deccan

Dated : 13th May, 1949.

To

Mr. Jatley,

Inspector General of Police,
Hyderabad State.

Sir,

Twice I visited Tamsa, a big village in Hudgaon Tahsil in Nanded District after Police Action. I want to bring some facts to your kind notice.

First time, when the Indian Military visited this place, many muslims were killed, all their houses were looted, some of them were burnt by goondas and some by the Military men. After a few days, on 14th October 1949, Union sub-Inspector of police with his constables came here and took charge of this police Station House. The same day some Military officers also came. All the male muslims were asked to assemble in front of the Congress house. The Muslims complied with the command. Most of the Muslims were beaten, kicked and insulted in many ways by some goondas in the presence of hundreds of Non-Muslims and many Military and police officers.

The most regrettable and serious thing happened on 23rd October 1948. Some twenty six young Muslims were dragged from their houses and kept under the custody of military men stationed at Tamsa. In the evening three muslims were left, the remaining 23 were taken into jungle in the night, and shot dead. The shots were heard by many men in Tamsa. Many selected Hindus had gone to jungle to watch this performence of cold blooded murder of twenty three young muslims. It is rumoured that the military men were hesitating to do such a cruel thing, because it was a long time after the Military action had taken place there. But they were won over when the Saits, Sahukars and others collected ten thousand rupees and gave to them to perform such a horrible job. The man who played the main part in this murder of 23 able bodied Muslims was ....Havaldar who was in charge of the Indian Military men stationed there. Now he is working at Hadgaon proper in Nanded District.

Mr. Verma, Deputy Civil Administrator of Nanded District had recorded statement of some inhabitants of Tamsa about this and other happenings. Till now nothing has happened. I beg to suggest that a Maharathi knowing officer from your intelligence department may be sent there to ascertain facts. I can give the names of these 23 muslims who were shot dead on 23rd October 1948 if you think it necessary.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/- Fareed Mirza
Member Central Relief
Committee.

We had thought that Aurangabad District had been very peaceful. But when I, along with Mr. D. L. Phatak and Mr. Hussaini visited the villages of Bhokerdan Tahsil from 5th to 20th June 1949, I came to know the extent of damage done to the muslims there. Besides bringing these facts personally to the notice of the Civil Administrator and the District Superintendent of Police of Aurangabad, Sri D. L. Phatak and I issued the following statement which I had drafted at Bhokerdan. This statement had also been signed by Mr. Hussaini, but Mulla Saheb asked me to drop his name as he felt that he would be harassed very much by the Government as a signatory to such a statement. On 24th June 1949, the Urdu Press published the statement under bold headlines.

"We have returned to Aurangabad after visiting many villages of Taluqa Bhokardan for about 15 days. Further we got information about the damage done to in many villages at these places. We have taken note of all this and informed the Government of it. For the information of the people who have got sympathy with the nation, we wish to state here that the condition of the sufferers is very bad and deserves immediate attention. The sufferings borne by the minority community cannot be described. The number of widows and orphans (in these and such other villages) whose husbands and guardians have been killed goes, without any exaggration, to thousands. Four to five persons and in certain cases ten to fifteen persons from each house have been killed by Goondas most ruthlessly. All their household effects have been looted standing crops have been destroyed or looted. Even the zinc sheets over the houses have disappeared. Where hundreds of young widows with their young children have got dark future, there are such old mothers whose two or three sons and in some cases their only one son had been dragged from their hands and murdered. In this region, the wide spread killing has been very well organised. The return of the

looted property is a big thing. Hundreds of houses and plots of land still remain under illegal occupation. The Government is not at all taking any interest to restore such property to the real owners. We were very much surprised to see that even so long after the Police Action, muslims were being evicted from their lands and houses in the Jafarabad circle. Even when we were there we came to know that 30 to 40 year occupation of muslims was being removed from two or three lands, When we talked with the Government officers and local leaders, they expressed their inability to stop such occurrences. We even took photos of such houses, the doors and windows of which had been removed only a day or two earlier. It seems goondas of this part have got the impression that they can do what they like with the movable and the immovable properties of muslims and there is no one to safeguard them (muslims) or to question these goondas. Firstly we do not come across young muslims in this part. If there are a few here and there they are very much afraid. We find widows young and old everywhere. They have given application for return of cattle, zinc sheets and the lands, which they can point out also No Government officer has paid any attention to this. In certain cases they have refused to accept their applications also.

Government officers have not sanctioned a single pension in spite of the fact that there are thousands of widows who are half starving and whose husbands and other relatives have been murdered and whose property looted. The Government had ordered that the land revenue should not be collected from such sufferers. But here nobody's land revenue has been remmitted.Same is the case with the Taccavi loan. In spite of the fact that this part of the district has been affected very much, muslims have been killed, their houses looted, standing crops and cattle taken away, we did not come across a single Muslim who had been granted taccavi loan, or a single widow or orphan who had been given any thing by way of charity. We were very much grieved to see that not only no attention is being paid to them but, on the other hand, seeing their pitiable plight, some officers of mean mentality are taking undue advantage of the helplessness of these widows. Inattentiveness prevails everywhere.

Having shown with a heavy heart this sad state of affairs we feel happy to state here, that almost at every place, where a lot of killing had taken place, many

noble but illiterate Hindus, risking their own lives, saved many individual muslims and helped the widows(who had lost every thing) with food, grains etc. for many days.

In all the villages which we visited, we found that no Government officer had taken any trouble to ask the Muslims about their sufferings after the Police Action and in what condition they were leading their lives. Ours was the party which was getting itself acquainted with their sufferings. Some days ago, Sri Lala Banva Prasad of Aurangabad, who was also a member of the Congress and the local Relief Committee toured some of these villages and helped some widows by giving each of them Rs. 4 to 5 and some cloth. But the condition of these old mothers, young widows and orphans deserves much more help. To add to this, in this area there is great scarcity of Jawar. This has aggravated the sufferings of the people. Under these circumstances, the condition of those who have been put to heart-rending sufferings, could easily be guaged. May we draw the attention of the Government of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and the followers of Mahatama Gandhi to the plight of the widows, orphans and other sufferers of this area ?"

After some days, Mulla Abdul Basith and Barrister Akbar Ali Khan issued a statement appealing to the public to contribute to the Relief Fund to help the hapless victims. They referred to our statement and stated that similar conditions prevailed in the the districts of Osmanabad, Bhir, Gulbarga and Nanded. They added that Nalgonda, Warrangal and Asifabad had also been no less affected.

On 27th June I apprised the Secretary, Relief and Rehabilitation Department through a letter of all the conditions prevailing in Bhokardan Tahsil. On 6th July 1949, Barrister Akber Ali Khan, Sri D. L. Phatak and I met the Military Governor and gave him facts about the Bhokardan villages. He did not accept these facts as correct and sent a wireless message to the Civil Administrator Aurangabad for verification. The Civil Administrator replied that our allegations were grossly exaggerated. But what we had seen and heard in the villages, we had written in the statement. This was not liked by the Government or by the State Congress circles. The Secretary, Relief and Rehabilitation Department (Mr.Nagendar Bahadur), took objection to my issuing a public statement of this nature. He thought that being a member of the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, I should only write to the Department. I replied that as a non-official member I should have the freedom to have access to the Press. I found that I had courted the displeasure of the Secretary, who alone had taken me on the Committee. As I did not enjoy his confidence, I thought I should leave the Committee. So I submitted my resignation from it. But the Secretary did not accept it. He returned it saying that I should continue to serve on

the Committee, as I was its active member. He replied that he had objection only to my issuing a public statement. So I continued to serve on the committee but not for long.

Mr. Krishnamachari Joshi, a prominent Congress leader and an active member of the Relief and Rehabilitation Committees (both private and Government) once came to me along with Mulla Saheb and talked to me about the statement. He informed me that the Congress leaders had not liked this statement. I told him that I had written what I had seen and heard. He took more objection to the headlines then the statement itself. I had to argue with him at length to convince him that the headlines were not given by me. It was all done by the newspapers themselves. To prove my point, I showed two newspaper cuttings of my statement with different headlines.

Some time after the Police Action, some of the congress leaders called me to the house of Sri. Digamber Rao Bindu and dicussed my future. They desired that I should adopt politics as a profession. I told them that I had no other means of livelihood except Government service. Only because an extra-ordinary situation had been created which touched my conscience very deeply, I resigned from Government service. As the situation had changed I would like to rejoin Government service. They tried to persuade me to take a different course. But I stuck to my desire.

As I have written earlier, I submitted my resignation on 15th July 1948 but it actually came into effect from 1st August, the date on which I handed over charge at Biloli Tahsil. After the Police Action, the Secretary to Government, Revenue Department wrote to me through letter No.677 dated 13-11-1948 that he wanted to talk to me and that I should see him either at his office or at his bungalow. I went to him along with Mr. B. Ramkrishna Rao, his father-in-law. He asked me whether I wanted to rejoin Government service. I said, that I would like to. He asked me to submit an application enclosing a copy of the resignation. I did it accordingly. During the interview I informed him that one of my juniors had been promoted as a Deputy Collector. But when after one and a half months the orders came, they stated that I was appointed a Tahsildar and that the interim period from date of resignation to the date of taking charge would be treated as leave without pay. To be candid, I felt grieved at these orders. I thought that the least they could do was to promote me as Deputy Collector and treat the interim period as leave for which I was eligible at the time of my resignation. So I regretted my inability to join the Government service on those terms. I made it clear that many Tahsildars of my standing and even those who were junior to me had been promoted as Deputy Collectors. The Government insisted that I should first join as Tahsildar and my claims for promotion would be considered sympathetically later on. I excused myself and expressed my inability to join the service under these circumstances. The time passed on. Whatever saving I had, was being exhausted. I did not know what to do. Many

a time I seriously thought of doing some business on a small scale. First of all, I had no capital and secondly I had no experience of any business. The relief work continued to take all my time. But the thought of my wife and children and other dependants was always haunting me. As days passed on, anxiety grew.

During this time, in connection with a Government employee who had been retrenched from service, I saw Mr.Nagendar Bahadur Secretary, Relief and Rehabilitation and he in turn asked me to see Mr. Ramlal, the then Secretary to Government Revenue Department. Accordingly I met him. We talked about the matter for which I had gone to him. Before I left him, he asked me whether I wanted to join the Government service or continue to remain in public life. I said that I wanted to join service if it was on honourable terms. He said that I would be taken back as Deputy Collector. I asked him about the interim period. He replied that it would be decided favourably after I rejoined the Government service. I agreed to these conditions. After some days, on 27th July 1949, I received orders of my appointment as Asst Director of Court of Wards. After one full year, I again entered the Government service on the forenoon of 1st August 1949. Thus ended one complete year of my public life.

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